THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

VOL. II.

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Emperor of Germany.

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WITH

A VIEW of the PROGRESS of SOCIETY
in EUROPE, from the Subverſion of the Roman Empire,
to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK I.

CHARLES V. was born at Ghent on the twenty-fourth day of February, in the year one thouſand five hundred. His father, Philip the Handſome, Archduke of Auſtria, was the ſon of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold, the laſt prince of the houſe of Burgundy. His mother, Joanna, was the ſecond daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Aragon.

Book I.

Birth of Charles V.

A LONG train of fortunate events had opened the way for this young prince to the inheritance of more extenſive dominions, than any European monarch, ſince Charlemagne, had poſſeſſed. Each of his anceſtors had acquired kingdoms or provinces, towards which their proſpect of ſucceſſion was extremely remote. The rich poſſeſſions of Mary of Burgundy were deſtined for another

His dominions, and the events by which he acquired them.

Book I. family, ſhe having been contracted by her father to the only ſon of Louis XI. of France; but that capricious monarch, indulging his hatred to her family, choſe rather to ſtrip her of part of her territories by force, than to ſecure the whole by marriage; and by this miſconduct, fatal to his poſterity, threw all the Netherlands and Franche Comté into the hands of a rival. Iſabella, the daughter of John II. of Caſtile, far from having any proſpect of that noble inheritance which ſhe tranſmitted to her grandſon, paſſed the early part of her life in obſcurity and indigence. But the Caſtilians, exaſperated againſt her brother Henry IV. an ill-adviſed and vicious prince, publickly charged him with impotence, and his Queen with adultery. Upon his demiſe, rejecting Joanna, whom the King had uniformly, and even on his death-bed, owned to be his lawful daughter, and whom an aſſembly of the ſtates had acknowledged to be the heir of his kingdom, they obliged her to retire into Portugal, and placed Iſabella on the throne of Caſtile. Ferdinand owed the crown of Aragon to the unexpected death of his elder brother, and acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily by violating the faith of treaties, and diſregarding the ties of blood. To all theſe kingdoms, Chriſtopher Columbus, by an effort of genius and of intrepidity, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful that is recorded in the annals of mankind, added a new world, the wealth of which was one conſiderable ſource of the power and grandeur of the Spaniſh monarchs.

Philip and Joanna, his father and mother, viſit Spain.

Don John, the only ſon of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and their eldeſt daughter, the Queen of Portugal, being cut off in the flower of youth, all their hopes centered in Joanna and her poſterity. But as her huſband, the Archduke, was a ſtranger to the Spaniards, it was thought

thought expedient to invite him into Spain, that by reſiding among them, he might accuſtom himſelf to their laws and manners; and it was expected that the Cortes, or aſſembly of ſtates, whoſe authority was then ſo great in Spain, that no title to the crown was reckoned valid unleſs it received their ſanction, would acknowledge his right of ſucceſſion, together with that of the Infanta, his wife. Philip and Joanna, paſſing through France in their way to Spain, were entertained in that kingdom with the utmoſt magnificence. The archduke did homage to Louis XII. for the earldom of Flanders, and took his ſeat as a peer of the realm in the parliament of Paris. They were received in Spain with every mark of honour that the parental affection of Ferdinand and Iſabella, or the reſpect of their ſubjects, could deviſe, and their title to the crown was ſoon after acknowledged by the Cortes of both kingdoms

1502.

Ferdinand jealous of Philip's power.

But amidſt theſe outward appearances of ſatisfaction and joy, ſome ſecret uneaſineſs preyed upon the mind of each of theſe princes. The ſtately and reſerved ceremonial of the Spaniſh court, was ſo burdenſome to Philip, a prince young, gay, affable, fond of ſociety and of pleaſure, that he ſoon began to expreſs a deſire of returning to his native country, the manners of which were more ſuited to his temper. Ferdinand, obſerving the declining health of his Queen, with whoſe life his right to the government of Caſtile muſt ceaſe, eaſily foreſaw, that a prince of Philip's diſpoſition, and who already diſcovered an extreme impatience to reign, would never conſent to his retaining any degree of authority in that kingdom; and the proſpect of this diminution of his power, awakened the jealouſy of that ambitious monarch.

Book I.

Iſabella's ſolicitude, with reſpect to him and her daughter.

Isabella beheld, with the ſentiments natural to a mother, the indifference and neglect with which the Archduke treated her daughter, who was deſtitute of thoſe beauties of perſon, as well as thoſe accompliſhments of mind, which fix the affections of an huſband. Her underſtanding, always weak, was often diſordered. She doated on Philip with ſuch an exceſs of childiſh and indiſcreet fondneſs, as excited diſguſt rather than affection. Her jealouſy, for which her huſband's behaviour gave her too much cauſe, was proportioned to her love, and often broke out in the moſt extravagant actions. Iſabella, though ſenſible of her defects, could not help pitying her condition, which was ſoon rendered altogether deplorable, by the Archduke's abrupt reſolution of ſetting out in the middle of winter for Flanders, and of leaving her in Spain. Iſabella intreated him not to abandon his wife to grief and melancholy, which might prove fatal to her, as ſhe was near the time of her delivery. Joanna conjured him to put off his journey for three days only, that ſhe might have the pleaſure of celebrating the feſtival of Chriſtmas in his company. Ferdinand, after repreſenting the imprudence of his leaving Spain, before he had time to become acquainted with the genius, or to gain the affections of the people who were one day to be his ſubjects, beſought him, at leaſt, not to paſs through France, with which kingdom he was then at open war. Philip, without regarding either the dictates of humanity, or the maxims of prudence, perſiſted in his purpoſe, and on the twenty-ſecond of December ſet out for the Low Countries, by the way of France [a].

From

[a] Petri Martyris Anglerii Epiſtolæ, 250. 253.

FROM the moment of his departure, Joanna ſunk into a deep and ſullen melancholy [b], and while ſhe was in that ſituation bore Ferdinand her ſecond ſon, for whom the power of his brother Charles afterwards procured the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and to whom he at laſt tranſmitted the Imperial ſceptre. Joanna was the only perſon in Spain who diſcovered no joy at the birth of this prince. Inſenſible to that, as well as to every other pleaſure, ſhe was wholly occupied with the thoughts of returning to her huſband; nor did ſhe, in any degree, recover tranquility of mind, until ſhe arrived at Bruſſels next year [c]. 1504.

Diſorder of Joanna's mind.

Birth of Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor.

PHILIP, in paſſing through France, had an interview with Louis XII, and ſigned a treaty with him, by which he hoped that all the differences between France and Spain would have been finally terminated. But Ferdinand, whoſe affairs, at that time, were extremely proſperous in Italy, where the ſuperior genius of Gonſalvo de Cordova, the great captain, triumphed on every occaſion over the arms of France, did not pay the leaſt regard to what his ſon-in-law had concluded, and carried on hoſtilities with greater ardour than ever.

FROM this time Philip ſeems not to have taken any part in the affairs of Spain, waiting in quiet till the death either of Ferdinand or of Iſabella ſhould open the way to one of their thrones. The latter of theſe events was not far diſtant. The untimely death of her children had made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Iſabella; and as ſhe could derive but little conſolation for the loſſes which ſhe had ſuſtained either from her daughter

Death of Iſabella.

[b] Id. Epiſt. 255. [c] Mariana, lib. 27. c. 11. 14. Flechier Vie de Ximen. 1. 191.

Book I. daughter Joanna, whoſe infirmities daily increaſed, or from her ſon-in-law, who no longer preſerved even the appearance of a decent reſpect towards that unhappy princeſs, her ſpirits and health began gradually to decline, and after languiſhing ſome months, ſhe died at Medina del Campo on the twenty-ſixth of November, one thouſand five hundred and four. She was no leſs eminent for virtue, than for wiſdom; and whether we conſider her behaviour as a queen, as a wife, or as a mother, ſhe is juſtly entitled to the high encomiums beſtowed on her by the Spaniſh hiſtorians [d].

Her will, appointing Ferdinand regent of Caſtile.

A FEW weeks before her death, ſhe made her laſt will, and being ſenſible of Joanna's incapacity to aſſume the reins of government into her own hands, and having no inclination to commit them to Philip, with whoſe conduct ſhe was extremely diſſatisfied, ſhe appointed Ferdinand regent or adminiſtrator of the affairs of Caſtile until her grandſon Charles ſhould attain the age of twenty. She bequeathed to Ferdinand likewiſe one half of the revenues which ſhould ariſe from the Indies, together with the grand maſterſhips of the three military orders; dignities, which rendered the perſon who poſſeſſed them almoſt independent, and which Iſabella had, for that reaſon, annexed to the crown [e]. But before ſhe ſigned a deed ſo favourable to Ferdinand, ſhe obliged him to ſwear that he would not, by a ſecond marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna or her poſterity of their right of ſucceſſion to any of his kingdoms [f].

IMMEDIATELY

[d] P. Mart. Ep. 279. [e] P. Martyr. Ep. 277. Mar. Hiſt. lib. 28. c. 11. Ferreras Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagne, tom. viii. 263. [f] Mar. Hiſt. lib. 28. c. 14.

IMMEDIATELY upon the queen's death, Ferdinand reſigned the title of king of Caſtile, and commanded Joanna and Philip to be publickly proclaimed the ſovereigns of that kingdom. But, at the ſame time, he aſſumed the character of Regent, in conſequence of Iſabella's teſtament, and not long after he prevailed on the Cortes of Caſtile to acknowledge his right to that office. This, however, he did not procure without difficulty, nor without diſcovering ſuch ſymptoms of alienation and diſguſt among the Caſtilians as filled him with great uneaſineſs. The union of Caſtile and Aragon, for almoſt thirty years, had not ſo entirely extirpated the ancient and hereditary enmity which ſubſiſted between the natives of theſe kingdoms, that the Caſtilian pride could ſubmit, without murmuring, to the government of a king of Aragon. Ferdinand's own character, with which the Caſtilians were well acquainted, was far from rendering his authority deſirable. Suſpicious, diſcerning, ſevere, and parſimonious, he was accuſtomed to obſerve the moſt minute actions of his ſubjects with a jealous attention, and to reward their higheſt ſervices with little liberality; and they were now deprived of Iſabella, whoſe gentle qualities, and partiality to her Caſtilian ſubjects, often tempered his auſterity, or rendered it tolerable. The maxims of his government were eſpecially odious to the Grandees; for that artful prince, ſenſible of the dangerous privileges conferred upon them by the Feudal inſtitutions, had endeavoured to curb their exorbitant power [g], by extending the royal juriſdiction, by protecting their injured vaſſals, by increaſing the immunities of cities, and by other

Ferdinand acknowledged as regent by the Cortes. 1505.

The Caſtilians diſſatisfied.

[g] Marian. lib. 28. c. 12.

Book I. other meaſures equally prudent. From all theſe cauſes, a formidable party among the Caſtilians united againſt Ferdinand; and though the perſons who compoſed it, had not hitherto taken any publick ſtep in oppoſition to him, he plainly ſaw that upon the leaſt encouragement from their new king, they would proceed to the moſt violent extremities.

Philip endeavours to obtain the government of Caſtile.

THERE was no leſs agitation in the Netherlands upon receiving the accounts of Iſabella's death, and of Ferdinand's having aſſumed the government of Caſtile. Philip was not of a temper tamely to ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by the unnatural ambition of his father-in-law. If Joanna's infirmities, and the non-age of Charles, rendered them incapable of government, he, as a huſband, was the proper guardian of his wife, and, as a father, the natural tutor of his ſon. Nor was it ſufficient to oppoſe to theſe juſt rights, and to the inclination of the people of Caſtile, the authority of a teſtament, the genuineneſs of which was perhaps doubtful, and its contents certainly iniquitous. A keener edge was added to Philip's reſentment, and new vigour infuſed into his councils, by the arrival of Don John Manuel. He was Ferdinand's ambaſſador at the Imperial court, but upon the firſt notice of Iſabella's death repaired to Bruſſels, flattering himſelf that under a young and liberal prince, he might attain to power and honours which he could never hope for in the ſervice of an old and frugal maſter. He had early paid court to Philip during his reſidence in Spain, with ſuch aſſiduity as entirely gained his confidence; and having been trained to buſineſs under Ferdinand, could oppoſe his ſchemes with equal abilities, and with arts not inferior

to

to thoſe for which that monarch was diſtinguiſhed [h].

He requires Ferdinand to reſign the regency.

By his advice, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to require Ferdinand to retire into Aragon, and to reſign the government of Caſtile to thoſe perſons whom Philip ſhould entruſt with it until his arrival in that kingdom. Such of the Caſtilian nobles as had diſcovered any diſſatisfaction with Ferdinand's adminiſtration, were encouraged by every method to oppoſe it. At the ſame time a treaty was concluded with Louis XII. by which Philip flattered himſelf that he had ſecured the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of that monarch.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand employed all the arts of addreſs and policy, in order to retain the power of which he had got poſſeſſion. By means of Conchillos, an Aragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negociation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princeſs to confirm, by her authority, his right to the regency. But this intrigue did not eſcape the penetrating eye of Don John Manuel; Joanna's letter of conſent was intercepted; Conchillos was thrown into a dungeon; ſhe herſelf confined to an apartment in the palace, and all her Spaniſh domeſticks ſecluded from her preſence [i].

Ferdinand abandoned by the Caſtilian nobles.

The mortification which the diſcovery of this ſcheme occaſioned to Ferdinand, was much increaſed by his obſerving the progreſs that Philip's emiſſaries made in Caſtile. Some of the nobles retired to their caſtles; others to the towns in which

[h] Zurita Anales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 12.
[i] P. Mart. Ep. 287. Zurita Anales vi. p. 14.

Book I. which they had influence; they formed themſelves into confederacies, and began to aſſemble their vaſſals. Ferdinand's court was almoſt totally deſerted; not a perſon of diſtinction but Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, the duke of Alva, and the marquis of Denia, remaining there; while the houſes of Philip's ambaſſadors were daily crowded with thoſe of the higheſt rank.

Ferdinand reſolves to marry, in order to exclude his daughter from the throne.

EXASPERATED at this univerſal defection, and mortified perhaps with ſeeing all his ſchemes defeated by a younger politician, Ferdinand reſolved, in defiance of the law of nature, and of decency, to deprive his daughter and her poſterity of the crown of Caſtile, rather than renounce the regency of that kingdom. His plan for accompliſhing this was no leſs bold, than the intention itſelf was wicked. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the ſuppoſed daughter of Henry IV. on the belief of whoſe illegitimacy Iſabella's right to the crown of Caſtile was founded; and by reviving the claim of this princeſs, in oppoſition to which he himſelf had formerly led armies, and fought battles, he hoped once more to get poſſeſſion of the throne of that kingdom. But Emanuel, king of Portugal, in whoſe dominions Joanna reſided, being married to one of Ferdinand's daughters by Iſabella, refuſed his conſent to that unnatural match; and the unhappy princeſs herſelf, having loſt all reliſh for the objects of ambition, by being long immured in a convent, diſcovered no leſs averſion to it[k].

Marries a niece of the French king.

THE reſources, however, of Ferdinand's ambition were not exhauſted. Upon meeting with a repulſe

[k] Sandov. Hiſt. of Civil Wars in Caſtile. Lond. 1655. p. 5. Zurita Anales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 213.

a repulſe in Portugal, he turned towards France, and ſought in marriage Germaine de Foix, a daughter of the viſcount of Narbonne, and of Mary, the ſiſter of Louis XII. The war which that monarch had carried on againſt Ferdinand in Naples, had been ſo unfortunate, that he liſtened with joy to a propoſal, which furniſhed him with an honourable pretence of concluding peace: And though no prince was ever more remarkable than Ferdinand for making all his paſſions bend to the maxims of intereſt, or become ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ambition, yet ſo vehement was his reſentment againſt his ſon-in-law, that the deſire of gratifying it rendered him regardleſs of every other conſideration. In order to be revenged of Philip, by detaching Louis from his intereſt, and in order to gain a chance of excluding him from his hereditary throne of Aragon, and the dominions annexed to it, he was ready once more to divide Spain into ſeparate kingdoms, though the union of theſe was the great glory of his reign, and had been the chief object of his ambition; he conſented to reſtore the Neapolitan nobles of the French faction to their poſſeſſions and honours; and ſubmitted to the ridicule of marrying, in an advanced age, a princeſs of eighteen [l].

The concluſion of this match, which deprived Philip of his only ally, and threatened him with the loſs of ſo many kingdoms, gave a dreadful alarm to him, and convinced Don John Manuel that there was now a neceſſity of taking other meaſures with regard to the affairs of Spain [m]. He accordingly inſtructed the Flemiſh ambaſſadors in the court of Spain, to teſtify the ſtrong deſire

[l] P. Mart. Ep. 290. 292. Mariana, lib. 28. c. 16, 17.
[m] P. Mart. Ep. 293.

Book I. deſire which their maſter had of terminating all differences between him and Ferdinand in an amicable manner, and his willingneſs to conſent to any conditions that would re-eſtabliſh the friendſhip which ought to ſubſiſt between a father and a ſon-in-law. Ferdinand, though he had made and broken more treaties than any prince of any age, was apt to confide ſo far in the ſincerity of other men, or to depend ſo much upon his own addreſs and their weakneſs, as to be always extremely fond of a negociation. He liſtened with eagerneſs to theſe declarations, and ſoon concluded a treaty at Salamanca; in which it was ſtipulated, that the government of Caſtile ſhould be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues of the crown, as well as the right of conferring offices, ſhould be ſhared between Ferdinand and Philip by an equal diviſion [n].

A treaty between Ferdinand and Philip.

Nov. 24.

1506. Philip and Joanna ſet ſail for Spain.

Nothing, however, was farther from Philip's thoughts than to obſerve this treaty. His ſole intention in propoſing it was to amuſe Ferdinand, and to prevent him from taking any meaſures for obſtructing his voyage into Spain. It had that effect. Ferdinand, ſagacious as he was, did not for ſome time ſuſpect his deſign; and though when he perceived it, he prevailed on the king of France not only to remonſtrate againſt the archduke's journey, but to threaten hoſtilities if he ſhould undertake it; though he ſolicited the duke of Gueldres to attack his ſon-in-law's dominions in the Low Countries, Philip and his conſort nevertheleſs ſet ſail with a numerous fleet and a good body of land forces. They were obliged by a violent tempeſt to take ſhelter

[n] Zurita Anales de Aragon, vi. 19. P. Mart. Ep. 293, 294.

ſhelter in England, where Henry VII. in compliance with Ferdinand's ſolicitations, detained them upwards of three months[o]; at laſt they were permitted to depart, and after a more proſperous voyage, they arrived in ſafety at Corunna in Galicia; nor durſt Ferdinand attempt, as he had once intended, to oppoſe their landing by force of arms. Book I. April 28.

The nobility of Caſtile declare for Philip.

THE Caſtilian nobles, who had been obliged hitherto to conceal or to diſſemble their ſentiments, now declared openly in favour of Philip. From every corner of the kingdom, perſons of the higheſt rank, with numerous retinues of their vaſſals, repaired to their new king. The treaty of Salamanca was univerſally condemned, and all agreed to exclude from the government of Caſtile a prince, who, by conſenting to disjoin Aragon and Naples from that crown, diſcovered ſo little concern for its true intereſts. Ferdinand, meanwhile, abandoned by almoſt all the Caſtilians, diſconcerted by their revolt, and uncertain whether he ſhould peaceably relinquiſh his power, or take arms in order to maintain it, earneſtly ſolicited an interview with his ſon-in-law, who by advice of Manuel ſtudiouſly avoided it. Convinced at laſt, by ſeeing the number and zeal of Philip's adherents daily increaſe, that it was vain to think of reſiſting ſuch a torrent, Ferdinand conſented, by a treaty, to reſign the regency of Caſtile into the hands of Philip, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Aragon, and to reſt ſatisfied with the maſterſhips of the military orders, and that ſhare of the revenue of the Indies, which Iſabella had bequeathed to him. Though an interview between the princes was no longer neceſſary, it was agreed to on both

June 27. Ferdinand reſigns the regency of Caſtile, and retires to Aragon.

[o] Ferrer. Hiſt. viii. 285.

Book I. both ſides from motives of decency. Philip repaired to the place appointed with a ſplendid retinue of the Caſtilian nobles, and a conſiderable body of armed men. Ferdinand appeared without any pomp, attended by a few followers, mounted on mules, and unarmed. On that occaſion Don John Manuel had the pleaſure of diſplaying before the monarch whom he had deſerted, the extenſive influence which he had acquired over his new maſter: While Ferdinand ſuffered in preſence of his former ſubjects the two moſt cruel mortifications which an artful and ambitious prince can feel; being at once overreached in conduct, and ſtripped of power [p].

July. NOT long after, he retired into Aragon; and hoping that ſome favourable accident would ſoon open the way for his return into Caſtile, he took care to proteſt, though with great ſecrecy, that the treaty concluded with his ſon-in-law, being extorted by force, ought to be deemed void of all obligation [q].

Philip and Joanna acknowledged as king and queen by the Cortes. PHILIP took poſſeſſion of his new authority with a youthful joy. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he derived it, remained during all theſe conteſts, under the dominion of a deep melancholy; ſhe was ſeldom allowed to appear in publick; her father, though he had often deſired it, was refuſed acceſs to her; and Philip's chief object was to prevail on the Cortes to declare her incapable of government, that an undivided power might be lodged in his hands, until his ſon ſhould attain to full age. But ſuch was the partial attachment of the Caſtilians to their

[p] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 64. Mar. lib. 28. c. 19, 20. P. Mart. Ep. 304, 305, &c. [q] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 68. Ferrer. Hiſt. viii. 290.

their native princes, that though Manuel had the addreſs to gain ſome members of the Cortes aſſembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their new ſovereign in his firſt requeſt, the great body of the repreſentatives refuſed their conſent to a declaration which they thought ſo injurious to the blood of their monarchs [r]. They were unanimous, however, in acknowledging Joanna and Philip queen and king of Caſtile, and their ſon Charles prince of Aſturias.

Death of Philip. Sept. 25.

THIS was almoſt the only memorable event during Philip's adminiſtration. A fever put an end to his life in the twenty-eighth year of his age, when he had not enjoyed the regal dignity which he had been ſo eager to obtain full three months [s].

The diſorder of Joanna's mind increaſes.

THE whole royal authority in Caſtile ought of courſe to have devolved upon Joanna. But the ſhock occaſioned by a diſaſter ſo unexpected as the death of her huſband, completed the diſorder of her underſtanding, and her incapacity for government. During all the time of Philip's ſickneſs, no intreaty could prevail on her, though in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, to leave him for a moment. When he expired, however, ſhe did not ſhed one tear, or utter a ſingle groan. Her grief was ſilent and ſettled. She continued to watch the dead body with the ſame tenderneſs and attention as if it had been alive [t], and though at laſt ſhe permitted it to be buried, ſhe ſoon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment. There it was laid upon a bed of ſtate, in a ſplendid dreſs; and having heard

[r] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 75. lib. 28. c. 23.

[s] Marian.

[t] P. Mart. Ep. 316.

Book I. heard from ſome monk a legendary tale of a king who had revived after he had been dead fourteen years, ſhe kept her eyes almoſt conſtantly fixed on the body, waiting for the happy moment of its return to life. Nor was this capricious affection for her dead huſband leſs tinctured with jealouſy, than that which ſhe had born to him while alive. She did not permit any of her female attendants to approach the bed on which his corpſe was laid; ſhe would not ſuffer any woman who did not belong to her family to enter the apartment; and rather than grant that privilege to a midwife, though a very aged one, had been choſen of purpoſe, ſhe bore the princeſs Catherine without any other aſſiſtance than that of her own domeſtics [u].

She is incapable of government.

A WOMAN in ſuch a ſtate of mind was little capable of governing a great kingdom; and Joanna, who made it her ſole employment to bewail the loſs, and to pray for the ſoul of her huſband, would have thought her attention to publick affairs an impious neglect of thoſe duties which ſhe owed to him. But though ſhe declined aſſuming the adminiſtration herſelf, yet, by a ſtrange caprice of jealouſy, ſhe refuſed to commit it to any other perſon; and no intreaty of her ſubjects could perſuade her to name a regent, or even to ſign ſuch papers as were neceſſary for the execution of juſtice, and the ſecurity of the kingdom.

Maximilian the Emperor and Ferdinand competitors for the regency.

THE death of Philip threw the Caſtilians into the greateſt perplexity. It was neceſſary to appoint a regent, both on account of Joanna's frenzy, and the infancy of her ſon; and as there was

[u] Mar. Hiſt. lib. 29. c. 3 & 5. P. Mart E. p. 318. 324. 328. 332.

was not among the nobles, any perſon ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed as to be called by the publick voice to that high office, all naturally turned their eyes either towards Ferdinand, or towards the emperor Maximilian. The former claimed that dignity as adminiſtrator for his daughter, and by virtue of the teſtament of Iſabella; the latter thought himſelf the legal guardian of his grandſon, whom, on account of his mother's infirmity, he already conſidered as king of Caſtile. Such of the nobility as had lately been moſt active in compelling Ferdinand to reſign the government of the kingdom, trembled at the thoughts of his being reſtored ſo ſoon to his former dignity. They dreaded the return of a monarch, not apt to forgive, and who, to thoſe defects with which they were already acquainted, added that reſentment which the remembrance of their behaviour, and reflection upon his own diſgrace, muſt naturally have excited. Though none of theſe objections held againſt Maximilian, he was a ſtranger to the laws and manners of Caſtile; he had not either troops or money to ſupport his pretenſions; nor could his claim be admitted without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government; an indignity, to which, notwithſtanding the notoriety of her diſtemper, the delicacy of the Caſtilians could not bear the thoughts of ſubjecting her.

Don John Manuel, however, and a few of the nobles, who conſidered themſelves as moſt obnoxious to Ferdinand's diſpleaſure, declared for Maximilian, and offered to ſupport his claim with all their intereſt. Maximilian, always enterprizing and deciſive in council, though feeble and dilatory in execution, eagerly embraced the offer. But a ſeries of ineffectual negociations

Book I. was the only conſequence of this tranſaction. The Emperor, as uſual, aſſerted his rights in a high ſtrain, promiſed a great deal, and performed nothing [x].

Ferdinand abſent, on a viſit to his kingdom of Naples.

A FEW days before the death of Philip, Ferdinand had ſet out for Naples, that by his own preſence he might put an end, with the greater decency, to the vice-royalty of the great captain, whoſe important ſervices, and cautious conduct, did not ſcreen him from the ſuſpicions of his jealous maſter. Though an account of his ſon-in-law's death reached him at Porto-fino, in the territories of Genoa, he was ſo ſolicitous to diſcover the ſecret intrigues which he ſuppoſed the great captain to have been carrying on, and to eſtabliſh his own authority on a firm foundation in the Neapolitan dominions, by removing him from the ſupreme command there, that rather than diſcontinue his voyage, he choſe to leave Caſtile in a ſtate of anarchy, and even to riſque, by this delay, his obtaining poſſeſſion of the government of that kingdom [y].

Acquires the regency of Caſtile, chiefly thro' the influence of Cardinal Ximenes.

NOTHING but the great abilities and prudent conduct of his adherents, could have prevented the bad effects of this abſence. At the head of theſe was Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, who, though he had been raiſed to that dignity by Iſabella, contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand, and though he could have no expectation of enjoying much power under his jealous adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs ſo diſintereſted, as to prefer the welfare of his country before his own grandeur, and to declare, that Caſtile could never be ſo happily governed as by a prince, whom

[x] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 7. Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 93. [y] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 85.

whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true intereſt. His zeal to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aſide ſomewhat of his uſual auſterity and haughtineſs. He condeſcended, on this occaſion, to court the diſaffected nobles, and employed addreſs, as well as arguments, to perſuade them. Ferdinand ſeconded his endeavours with great art; and by conceſſions to ſome of the grandees, by promiſes to others, and by letters full of complaiſance to all, he gained many of his moſt violent opponents [z]. Though many cabals were formed, and ſome commotions were excited, yet when Ferdinand, after having ſettled the affairs of Naples, arrived in Caſtile, he entered upon the adminiſtration without oppoſition. The prudence with which he exerciſed his authority in that kingdom, equalled the good fortune by which he had recovered it. By a moderate, but ſteady adminiſtration, free from partiality and from reſentment, he entirely reconciled the Caſtilians to his perſon, and ſecured to them, during the remainder of his life, as much domeſtick tranquillity, as was conſiſtent with the genius of the feudal government, which ſtill ſubſiſted among them in full vigour [a].

1507.

Aug. 21. Ferdinand returns to Spain.

His prudent adminiſtration.

Nor was the preſervation of tranquillity in his hereditary kingdoms, the only obligation which the Archduke Charles owed to the wiſe regency of his grandfather; he had the ſatisfaction, during that period, of ſeeing very important acquiſitions added to the dominions over which he was to reign. On the coaſt of Barbary, Oran, and other conqueſts of no ſmall

Conqueſt of Oran.

[z] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 87. 94. 109. [a] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 10.

Book I. value, were annexed to the crown of Caſtile by cardinal Ximenes, who, with a ſpirit very uncommon in a monk, led in perſon a numerous army againſt the Moors of that country; and, with a generoſity and magnificence ſtill more ſingular, defrayed the whole expence of the expedition out of his own revenues [b]. In Europe, Ferdinand, under pretences no leſs perilous than unjuſt, as well as by artifices the moſt ſhameful and treacherous, expelled John d'Albret, the lawful ſovereign, from the throne of Navarre; and ſeizing on that kingdom, extended the limits of the Spaniſh monarchy from the Pyrenees on the one hand, to the frontiers of Portugal on the other [c].

1509.

Acquiſition of Navarre.

Ferdinand jealous of his grandſon Charles.

It was not, however, the deſire of aggrandizing the Archduke, which influenced Ferdinand in this, or in any other of his actions. He was more apt to conſider that young prince as a rival, who might one day wreſt out of his hands the government of Caſtile, than as a grandſon, for whoſe behoof he was entruſted with the adminiſtration. This jealouſy ſoon begot averſion, and even hatred, the ſymptoms of which he was at no pains to conceal. Hence proceeded his immoderate joy when his young queen was delivered of a ſon, whoſe life would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Aragon, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; and upon the untimely death of that prince, he diſcovered, for the ſame reaſon, an exceſſive ſolicitude to have other children. This impatience haſtened, in all probability, the acceſſion of Charles to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, in order to procure a bleſſing, of which, from his advanced age,

1509.

[b] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 18. [c] Mar. lib. 30. c. 11. 12. 19. 24.

age, and the intemperance of his youth, he could have little proſpect, had recourſe to his phyſicians, and by their preſcription took one of thoſe potions, which are ſuppoſed to add vigour to the conſtitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it. This was its effect on a frame ſo feeble and exhauſted as that of Ferdinand; for though he ſurvived a violent diſorder which it at firſt occaſioned, it brought on ſuch an habitual languor and dejection of mind, as rendered him averſe from any ſerious attention to publick affairs, and fond of frivolous amuſements, on which he had not hitherto beſtowed much time [d]. Though he now deſpaired of having any ſon of his own, his jealouſy of the Archduke did not abate, nor could he help viewing him with that averſion, which princes often bear to their ſucceſſors. In order to gratify this unnatural paſſion, he made a will, appointing prince Ferdinand, who having been born and educated in Spain, was much beloved by the Spaniards, to be regent of all his kingdoms, until the arrival of the Archduke his brother; and by the ſame deed he ſettled upon him the grand-maſterſhip of the three military orders. The former of theſe grants might have put it in his power to have diſputed the throne with his brother; the latter would, in any event, have rendered him almoſt independent.

1513.

1515. Endeavours to diminiſh his power, by a will in favour of Ferdinand.

Ferdinand retained to the laſt that jealous love of power, which was ſo remarkable through his whole life. Unwilling to reſign it even at the approach of death, he removed continually from place to place, in order to fly from his diſtemper, or to forget it. Though his ſtrength declined

[d] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 347. P. Mart. Ep. 531. Argenſola Anales de Aragon, lib. i. p. 4.

Book I. declined every day, none of his attendants durſt mention his condition; nor would he admit his father confeſſor, who thought ſuch ſilence criminal and unchriſtian, into his preſence. At laſt the danger became ſo imminent, that it could be no longer concealed. Ferdinand received the intimation with a decent fortitude; and touched, perhaps, with compunction at the injuſtice which he had done his grandſon, or influenced by the honeſt remonſtrances of Carvajal, Zapata, and Vargas, his moſt ancient and faithful counſellors, who repreſented to him, that by inveſting prince Ferdinand with the regency, he would infallibly entail a civil war on the two brothers, and by beſtowing on him the grand-maſterſhip of the military orders, would ſtrip the crown of its nobleſt ornament and chief ſtrength, he conſented to alter his will in both theſe particulars. By a new deed he left Charles the ſole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to prince Ferdinand, inſtead of that throne of which he thought himſelf almoſt ſecure, an inconſiderable eſtabliſhment of fifty thouſand ducats a year [e]. He died a few hours after ſigning this will, on the twenty-third day of January, one thouſand five hundred and ſixteen.

1516. Is perſuaded to alter that will,

and dies.

Education of Charles V.

CHARLES, to whom ſuch a noble inheritance deſcended by his death, was near the full age of ſixteen. He had hitherto reſided in the Low Countries, his paternal dominions. Margaret of Auſtria, his aunt, and Margaret of York, the ſiſter of Edward IV. of England, and widow of Charles the Bold, two princeſſes of great virtue and abilities, had the care of forming his early

[e] Mar. Hiſt. lib. 30. c. ult. Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 401. P. Mart. Ep. 565, 566. Argenſola Anales de Arag. lib. 1. p. 11.

early youth. Upon the death of his father, the Flemings committed the government of the Low Countries to his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, with the name rather than the authority of regent [f]. Maximilian made choice of William de Croy lord of Chievres to ſuperintend the education of the young prince his grandſon [g]. That nobleman poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree,

Book I. 1516.

[f] Pontius Heuterus Rerum Auſtriacarum, lib. xv. Lov. 1649. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 155.

[g] The French hiſtorians, upon the authority of M. de Bellay, Mem. p. 11. have unanimouſly aſſerted, that Philip, by his laſt will, having appointed the king of France to have the direction of his ſon's education, Louis XII. with a diſintereſtedneſs ſuitable to the confidence repoſed in him, named Chievres for that office. Even the preſident Henaut has adopted this opinion. Abregè Chron. A. D. 1507. Varillas, in his uſual manner, pretends to have ſeen Philip's teſtament. Pract. de l' education des Princes, p. 16. But the Spaniſh, German, and Flemiſh hiſtorians concur in contradicting this aſſertion of the French authors. It appears from Heuterus, a contemporary Flemiſh hiſtorian of great authority, that Louis XII. by conſenting to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand, had loſt much of that confidence which Philip once placed in him; that this diſguſt was increaſed by the French King's giving in marriage to the count of Angoulême his eldeſt daughter, whom he had formerly betrothed to Charles. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. v. p. 151: That the French, a ſhort time before Philip's death, had violated the peace, which ſubſiſted between them and the Flemings, and Philip had complained of this injury, and was ready to reſent it. Heuter. ibid. All theſe circumſtances render it improbable that Philip, who made his will a few days before he died, Heuter. p. 152, ſhould commit the education of his ſon to Louis XII. In confirmation of theſe plauſible conjectures, poſitive teſtimony can be produced. It appears from Heuterus, that Philip, when he ſet out for Spain, had entruſted Chievres both with the care of his ſon's education, and with the government of his dominions in the Low Countries. Heuter. lib. vii. p. 153. That an attempt was made, ſoon after Philip's death, to have the Emperor Maximilian appointed regent, during the minority of his grandſon; but this being oppoſed, Chievres ſeems to have continued to diſcharge both the

Book I. degree, the talents which fitted him for ſuch an important office, and diſcharged the duties of it with great fidelity. Under Chievres, Adrian of Utrecht acted as preceptor. This preferment, which opened his way to the higheſt dignities an Eccleſiaſtic can attain, he owed not to his birth, for that was extremely mean; nor to his intereſt, for he was a ſtranger to the arts of a court; but to the opinion which his countrymen entertained of his learning. He was indeed no inconſiderable proficient in thoſe frivolous ſciences, which, during ſeveral centuries, aſſumed the name of Philoſophy, and had publiſhed a commentary, which was highly eſteemed, upon *The Book of Sentences*, a famous treatiſe of Petrus Lombardus, conſidered, at that time, as the ſtandard ſyſtem of metaphyſical theology. But whatever admiration theſe procured him in an illiterate age, it was ſoon found that a man accuſtomed to the retirement of a college, unacquainted with the world, and without any tincture of taſte or elegance, was by no means qualified for rendering ſcience agreeable to a young prince. Charles, accordingly, diſcovered an early averſion to learning, and an exceſſive fondneſs for thoſe violent and martial exerciſes, to excel in which was the chief pride, and almoſt the

1516.

the offices which Philip had committed to him. Heut. ibid. 153. 155. That in the beginning of the year 1508, the Flemings invited Maximilian to accept of the regency; to which he conſented, and appointed his daughter Margaret, together with a council of Flemings, to exerciſe the ſupreme authority, when he himſelf ſhould, at any time, be abſent. He likewiſe named Chievres as governor, and Adrian of Utrecht as preceptor to his ſon. Heut. ibid. 155. 157. What Heuterus relates with reſpect to this matter is confirmed by Moringus in Vita Adriani, apud Analecta Caſp. Burmanni de Adriano, cap. 10; by Barlandus Chronic. Brabant. ibid. p. 25; and by Haræus Annal. Brab. vol. ii. 520, &c.

the only ſtudy of perſons of rank in that age. Chievres encouraged this taſte, either from a deſire of gaining his pupil by indulgence, or from too ſlight an opinion of the advantages of literary accompliſhments [h]. He inſtructed him, however, with great care in the arts of government; he made him ſtudy the hiſtory not only of his own kingdoms, but of thoſe with which they were connected; he accuſtomed him, from the time of his aſſuming the government of Flanders in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, to attend to buſineſs; he perſuaded him to peruſe all papers relating to public affairs; to be preſent at the deliberations of his privy counſellors, and to propoſe to them himſelf thoſe matters, concerning which he required their opinion [i]. From ſuch an education, Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection which ſcarcely ſuited his time of life. The firſt openings of his genius did not indicate that ſuperiority which its maturer age diſplayed [k]. He did not diſcover in his youth that impetuoſity of ſpirit which commonly uſhers in an active and enterprizing manhood. Nor did his early obſequiouſneſs to Chievres, and his other favourites, promiſe that capacious and deciſive judgment, which afterwards directed the affairs of one half of Europe. But his ſubjects, dazzled with the external accompliſhments of a graceful figure and manly addreſs, and viewing his character with that partiality which is always ſhown to princes during their youth, entertained ſanguine hopes of his adding luſtre to thoſe crowns which deſcended to him by the death of Ferdinand.

Book I. 1516.

The firſt openings of his character.

THE

[h] Jovii Vita Adriani, p. 91. Struvii Corpus, Hiſt. Germ. ii. 967. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. vii. c. 3. p. 157.

[i] Memoires de Bellay, 8vo. Par. 1573. p. 11. P. Heuter. lib. viii. c. 1. p. 184.

[k] P. Martyr, Ep. 569. 655.

Book I.

1516. State of Spain requires a vigorous adminiſtration.

THE kingdoms of Spain, as is evident from the view which I have given of their political conſtitution, were, at that time, in a ſituation, which required an adminiſtration, no leſs vigorous than prudent. The feudal inſtitutions, which had been introduced into all its different provinces by the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals, ſubſiſted in great force. The nobles, who were powerful and warlike, had long poſſeſſed all the exorbitant privileges, which theſe inſtitutions veſted in their order. The cities in Spain were more numerous and more conſiderable, than the genius of feudal government, naturally an enemy to commerce, and to regular police, ſeemed to admit. The perſonal rights, and political influence, which the inhabitants of theſe cities had acquired, were extenſive. The royal prerogative, circumſcribed by the privileges of the nobility, and by the pretenſions of the people, was confined within very narrow limits. Under ſuch a form of government, the principles of diſcord were many; the bond of union was extremely feeble; and Spain felt not only all the inconveniences occaſioned by the defects in the feudal ſyſtem, but was expoſed to diſorders ariſing from the peculiarities in its own conſtitution.

DURING the long adminiſtration of Ferdinand, no internal commotion, it is true, had ariſen in Spain. His ſuperior abilities enabled him to reſtrain the turbulence of the nobles, and to moderate the jealouſy of the commons. By the wiſdom of his domeſtic government, by the ſagacity with which he conducted his foreign operations, and by the high opinion that his ſubjects entertained of both, he preſerved among them

them a degree of tranquillity, greater than was natural to a conſtitution, in which the ſeeds of diſcord and diſorder were ſo copiouſly mingled. But, by the death of Ferdinand, theſe reſtraints were at once withdrawn; and faction and diſcontent, from being long repreſſed, were ready to break out with fiercer animoſity. 1516.

Ferdinand had appointed Cardinal Ximenes regent.

In order to prevent thoſe evils, Ferdinand had in his laſt will taken a moſt prudent precaution, by appointing Cardinal Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, to be ſole regent of Caſtile, until the arrival of his grandſon in Spain. The ſingular character of this man, and the extraordinary qualities which marked him out for that office, at ſuch a juncture, merit a particular deſcription. He was deſcended of an honourable, not of a wealthy family; and the circumſtances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, having determined him to enter into the church, he early obtained benefices of great value, and which placed him in the way of the higheſt preferment. All theſe, however, he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very ſevere noviciate, aſſumed the habit of St. Francis in a monaſtery of Obſervantine friars, one of the moſt rigid orders in the Romiſh Church. There he ſoon became eminent for his uncommon auſterity of manners, and for thoſe exceſſes of ſuperſtitious devotion, which are the proper characteriſtics of the monaſtick life. But notwithſtanding theſe extravagances, to which weak and enthuſiaſtic minds alone are uſually prone, his underſtanding, naturally penetrating and deciſive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him ſuch great authority in his own order, as raiſed him to be their provincial. His reputation for ſanctity ſoon procured him the office of father confeſſor to queen Iſabella, which he accepted

His riſe and character.

Book I. 1516. accepted with the utmoſt reluctance. He preſerved in a court the ſame auſterity of manners, which had diſtinguiſhed him in the cloiſter. He continued to make all his journies on foot; he ſubſiſted only upon alms; his acts of mortification were as ſevere as ever; and his penances as rigorous. Iſabella, pleaſed with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, which, next to the Papacy, is the richeſt dignity in the church of Rome. This honour he declined with a firmneſs, which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the Pope was able to overcome. Nor did this height of promotion change his manners. Though obliged to diſplay in public that magnificence which became his ſtation, he himſelf retained his monaſtick ſeverity. Under his pontifical robes he conſtantly wore the coarſe frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he uſed to patch with his own hands. He at no time uſed linen; but was commonly clad in haircloth. He ſlept always in his habit, moſt frequently on the ground, or on boards, rarely in a bed. He did not taſte any of the delicacies which appeared at his table, but ſatisfied himſelf with that ſimple diet which the rule of his order preſcribed [1]. Notwithſtanding theſe peculiarities, ſo oppoſite to the manners of the world, he poſſeſſed a thorough knowledge of its affairs; and no ſooner was he called by his ſtation, and by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Iſabella entertained of him, to take a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration, than he diſplayed talents for buſineſs, which rendered the fame of his wiſdom equal to that of his ſanctity. Bold and original in all his plans, his political

[1] Hiſtoire de l'adminiſtration du Card. Ximen. par Mich. Baudier, 4to. 1635. p. 13.

political conduct flowed from his real character, and partook both of its virtues and its defects. His extenſive genius ſuggeſted to him ſchemes, vaſt and magnificent. Conſcious of the integrity of his intentions, he purſued theſe with unremitting and undaunted firmneſs. Accuſtomed from his early youth to mortify his own paſſions, he ſhewed little indulgence towards thoſe of other men. Taught by his ſyſtem of religion to check even his moſt innocent deſires, he was the enemy of every thing to which he could affix the name of elegance or pleaſure. Though free from any ſuſpicion of cruelty, he diſcovered in all his commerce with the world a ſevere inflexibility of mind, and auſterity of character, peculiar to the monaſtick profeſſion, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where that is unknown.

Cardinal Adrian appointed regent by Charles.

SUCH was the man to whom Ferdinand committed the regency of Caſtile, and though Ximenes was then near fourſcore, and perfectly acquainted with the labour and difficulty of the office, his natural intrepidity of mind, and zeal for the public good, prompted him to accept of it without heſitation. Adrian of Utrecht, who had been ſent into Spain a few months before the death of Ferdinand, produced full powers from the archduke to aſſume the name and authority of regent upon the demiſe of his grandfather; but ſuch was the averſion of the Spaniards to the government of a ſtranger, and ſo unequal the abilities of the two competitors, that Adrian's claim would at once have been rejected, if Ximenes himſelf, from complaiſance to his new maſter, had not conſented to acknowledge him as regent, and to carry on the government in conjunction with him. By this, however,

BOOK I. ever, Adrian acquired a dignity merely nominal. Ximenes, though he treated him with great decency, and even reſpect, retained the whole power in his own hands [m].

1516. Ximenes obtains the ſole direction of affairs.

THE Cardinal's firſt care was to obſerve the motions of the Infant Don Ferdinand, who having been flattered with ſo near a proſpect of ſupreme power, bore the diſappointment of his hopes with greater impatience than could have been expected of a prince ſo young. Ximenes, under pretence of providing more effectually for his ſafety, removed him from Guadaloupe, the place in which he had been educated, to Madrid, where he fixed the reſidence of the court. There he was under the Cardinal's own eye, and his conduct, with that of his domeſtics, was watched with the utmoſt attention [n].

His precautions againſt the Infant Don Ferdinand.

THE firſt intelligence he received from the Low Countries, gave greater diſquiet to the Cardinal, and convinced him how difficult a taſk it would be to conduct the affairs of a young prince, under the influence of counſellors unacquainted with the laws and manners of Spain. No ſooner did the account of Ferdinand's death reach Bruſſels, than Charles, by the advice of his Flemiſh miniſters, reſolved to aſſume the title of king. By the laws of Spain, the ſole right to the crowns both of Caſtile and of Aragon belonged to Joanna; and though her infirmities diſqualified her from governing, this incapacity had not been declared by any publick act of the Cortes in either kingdom; ſo that the Spaniards conſidered this reſolution, not only as a direct violation of their privileges, but

Charles aſſumes the title of king.

[m] Gometius de reb. geſt. Ximenii, p. 150. fol. Compl. 1569. [n] Miniana Contin. Marianæ, lib. 1. c. 2. Baudier, Hiſt. de Ximenes, p. 18.

but as an unnatural uſurpation in a ſon on the prerogatives of a mother, towards whom, in her preſent unhappy ſituation, he manifeſted a leſs delicate regard than her ſubjects had always expreſſed [o]. The Flemiſh court, however, having prevailed both on the Pope and on the Emperor to addreſs letters to Charles as king of Caſtile; the former of whom, it was pretended, had a right, as head of the church; and the latter, as head of the empire, to confer this title; inſtructions were ſent to Ximenes, to prevail on the Spaniards to acknowledge it. Ximenes, though he had earneſtly remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, as no leſs unpopular than unneceſſary, reſolved to exert all his authority and credit in carrying it into execution, and immediately aſſembled ſuch of the nobles as were then at court. What Charles required was laid before them; and when, inſtead of complying with his demands, they began to murmur againſt ſuch an unprecedented encroachment on their privileges, and to talk high of the rights of Joanna, and their oath of allegiance to her, Ximenes haſtily interpoſed, and with that firm and deciſive tone which was natural to him, told them, that they were not called now to deliberate, but to obey; that their ſovereign did not apply to them for advice, but expected ſubmiſſion; and "this day, added he, Charles ſhall be proclaimed king of Caſtile in Madrid, and the reſt of the cities will follow its example." On the ſpot he gave orders for that purpoſe [p]; and notwithſtanding the novelty of the practice, and the ſecret diſcontents of many perſons of diſtinction, Charles's title was univerſally recognized. In Aragon, where the privileges of the ſubject

Recognized through the influence of Ximenes.

April 13.

[o] P. Mart. Ep. 568.

[p] Gometius, p. 152, &c. Baudier Hiſt. de Ximen. p. 121.

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ſubject were more extenſive, and the abilities as well as authority of the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa, whom Ferdinand had appointed regent, were far inferior to thoſe of Ximenes, the ſame obſequiouſneſs to the will of Charles did not appear, nor was he acknowledged there under any other character but that of prince, until his arrival in Spain [q].

His ſchemes for extending the prerogative.

Ximenes, though poſſeſſed only of delegated power, which, from his advanced age, he could not expect to enjoy long, aſſumed, together with the character of regent, all the ideas natural to a monarch, and adopted ſchemes for extending the regal authority, which he purſued with as much intrepidity and ardour, as if he himſelf had been to reap the advantages reſulting from their ſucceſs. The exorbitant privileges of the Caſtilian nobles circumſcribed the prerogative of the prince within very narrow limits. Theſe the cardinal conſidered as ſo many unjuſt extortions from the crown, and determined to reduce them. Dangerous as the attempt was, there were circumſtances in his ſituation which promiſed him greater ſucceſs than any king of Caſtile could have expected. His ſtrict and prudent œconomy of his archiepiſcopal revenues furniſhed him with more ready money than the crown could at any time command; the ſanctity of his manners, his charity and munificence, rendered him the idol of the people; and the nobles themſelves, not ſuſpecting any danger from him, did not obſerve his motions with the ſame jealous attention, as they would have watched thoſe of one of their monarchs.

Immediately

[q] P. Mart Ep. 572.

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IMMEDIATELY upon his acceſſion to the regency, ſeveral of the nobles, fancying that the reins of government would of conſequence be ſomewhat relaxed, began to aſſemble their vaſſals, and to proſecute, by force of arms, private quarrels and pretenſions, which the authority of Ferdinand had obliged them to diſſemble, or to relinquiſh. But Ximenes, who had taken into pay a good body of troops, oppoſed and defeated all their deſigns with unexpected vigour and facility; and though he did not treat the authors of theſe diſorders with any cruelty, he forced them to acts of ſubmiſſion, extremely mortifying to the haughty ſpirit of Caſtilian grandees.

By depreſſing the nobility.

BUT while the Cardinal's attacks were confined to individuals, and every act of rigour was juſtified by the appearance of neceſſity, founded on the forms of juſtice, and tempered with a mixture of lenity, there was ſcarcely room for jealouſy or complaint. It was not ſo with his next meaſure, which, by ſtriking at a privilege eſſential to the nobility, gave a general alarm to the whole order. By the feudal conſtitution, the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, and men of an inferior condition were called into the field only as their vaſſals, and to follow their banners. A king with ſcanty revenues, and a limited prerogative, depended on theſe potent barons in all his operations. It was with their forces he attacked his enemies, and with them he defended his own kingdom. While at the head of troops attached warmly to their own lords, and accuſtomed to obey no other commands, his authority was precarious, and his efforts feeble. From this ſtate Ximenes reſolved to deliver the crown; and as mercenary ſtanding armies were unknown

By forming a body of troops depending on the crown.

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under the feudal government, and would have been odious to a martial and generous people, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding every city in Caſtile to enrol a certain number of its burgeſſes, in order that they might be trained to the uſe of arms on Sundays and holidays; he engaged to provide officers to command them at the publick expence; and as an encouragement to the private men, promiſed them an exemption from all taxes and impoſitions. The frequent incurſions of the Moors from Africa, and the neceſſity of having ſome force ready to oppoſe them, furniſhed a plauſible pretence for this innovation. The object really in view was to ſecure the king a body of troops independent of his barons, and which might ſerve to counterbalance their power [r]. The nobles were not ignorant of his intention, and ſaw how effectually the ſcheme which he had adopted would accompliſh his end; but as a meaſure which had the pious appearance of reſiſting the progreſs of the Infidels was extremely popular, and as any oppoſition to it ariſing from their order alone, would have been imputed wholly to intereſted motives, they endeavoured to excite the cities themſelves to refuſe obedience, and to remonſtrate againſt the proclamation, as inconſiſtent with their charters and privileges. In conſequence of their inſtigations, Burgos, Valladolid, and ſeveral other cities, roſe in open mutiny. Some of the grandees declared themſelves their protectors. Violent remonſtrances were preſented to the king. His Flemiſh counſellors were alarmed. Ximenes alone continued firm and undaunted; and partly by terror, partly by intreaty; by force in ſome inſtances, and by forbearance in others, he prevailed on all the refractory

[r] Minianæ Continuatio Marianæ, fol. Hag. 1733, p. 3.

refractory cities to comply [s]. During his administration, he continued to execute his plan with vigour, but soon after his death it was entirely dropt. Book I. 1516.

His success in this scheme for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, encouraged him to attempt a diminution of their possessions, which were no less exorbitant. During the contests and disorders inseparable from the feudal government, the nobles, ever attentive to their own interest, and taking advantage of the weakness or distress of their monarchs, had seized some parts of the royal demesnes, obtained grants of others, and having gradually wrested almost the whole out of the hands of the prince, had annexed them to their own estates. The rights, by which most of the grandees held these lands, were extremely defective; it was from some successful usurpation, which the crown had been too feeble to dispute, that many derived their only title to possession. An enquiry carried back to the origin of these encroachments, which were almost co-eval with the feudal system, was impracticable; and as it would have stripped every nobleman in Spain of great part of his lands, it must have excited a general revolt. Such a step was too bold, even for the enterprizing genius of Ximenes. He confined himself to the reign of Ferdinand; and beginning with the pensions granted during that time, refused to make any farther payment, because all right to them expired with his life. He then called to account such as had acquired crown lands under the administration of that monarch, and at once resumed whatever he had alienated. The effects of these revocations extended to many

By recalling the grants of former monarchs to the nobility.

[s] P. Mart. Ep. 556, &c. Gometius, p. 160, &c.

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perſons of high rank; for though Ferdinand was a prince of little generoſity, yet he and Iſabella having been raiſed to the throne of Caſtile by a powerful faction of the nobles, they were obliged to reward the zeal of their adherents with great liberality, and the royal demeſnes were their only fund for that purpoſe. The addition made to the revenue of the crown by theſe revocations, together with his own frugal œconomy, enabled Ximenes not only to diſcharge all the debts which Ferdinand had left, and to remit conſiderable ſums to Flanders, but to pay the officers of his new militia, and to eſtabliſh magazines more numerous, and better furniſhed with artillery, arms, and warlike ſtores, than Spain had ever poſſeſſed in any former age [t]. The prudent and diſintereſted application of theſe ſums, was a full apology to the people for the rigour with which they were exacted.

The nobles oppoſe his meaſures,

THE nobles, alarmed at theſe repeated attacks, began to think of precautions for the ſafety of their order. Many cabals were formed, loud complaints were uttered, and deſperate reſolutions taken; but before they proceeded to extremities, they appointed ſome of their number to examine the powers in conſequence of which the Cardinal exerciſed acts of ſuch high authority. The admiral of Caſtile, the duke de Infantado, and the conde de Benevento, grandees of the firſt rank, were entruſted with this commiſſion. Ximenes received them with cold civility, and in anſwer to their demand, produced the teſtament of Ferdinand by which he was appointed regent, together with the ratification of that deed by Charles. To both theſe they objected; and he endeavoured to

[t] Flechier Vie de Ximen. ii. 600.

to eſtabliſh their validity. As the converſation grew warm, he led them inſenſibly towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," ſays he, pointing to theſe and raiſing his voice, "the powers which I have received from his Catholick majeſty. With theſe I govern Caſtile; and with theſe I will govern it, until the king your maſter and mine takes poſſeſſion of his kingdom [u]." A declaration ſo bold and haughty ſilenced them, and aſtoniſhed their aſſociates. To take arms againſt a man aware of his danger, and prepared for his defence, was what deſpair alone would dictate. All thoughts of a general confederacy againſt the Cardinal's adminiſtration were laid aſide; and except from ſome ſlight commotions, excited by the private reſentment of particular noblemen, the tranquillity of Caſtile ſuffered no interruption.

Book I. 1516. but without ſucceſs.

It was not only from the oppoſition of the Spaniſh nobility that obſtacles aroſe to the execution of the Cardinal's ſchemes; he had a conſtant ſtruggle to maintain with the Flemiſh miniſters, who, preſuming upon their favour with the young king, aimed at directing the affairs of Spain, as well as thoſe of their own country. Jealous of his great abilities, and independent ſpirit, they conſidered Ximenes rather as a rival who might circumſcribe their power, than as a miniſter who by his prudence and vigour was adding to the grandeur and authority of their maſter. Every complaint againſt his adminiſtration was liſtened to with pleaſure by the courtiers in the Low Countries. Unneceſſary obſtructions were thrown by their means in the way

Thwarted by Charles's Flemiſh miniſters.

[u] Flech. ii. 551. Ferreras, Hiſt. viii. 433.

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way of all his meaſures; and though they could not either with decency or ſafety deprive him of the office of regent, they endeavoured to leſſen his authority by dividing it. They ſoon diſcovered that Adrian of Utrecht, already joined with him in office, had neither genius nor ſpirit ſufficient to give the leaſt check to his proceedings; and therefore Charles, by their advice, added to the commiſſion of regency La Chau, a Flemiſh gentleman, and afterwards Amerſtorf, a nobleman of Holland; the former diſtinguiſhed for his addreſs, the latter for his firmneſs. Ximenes, though no ſtranger to the malevolent intention of the Flemiſh courtiers, received theſe new aſſociates with all the external marks of diſtinction due to the office with which they were inveſted; but when they came to enter upon buſineſs, he abated nothing of that air of ſuperiority with which he had treated Adrian, and ſtill retained the ſole direction of affairs. The Spaniards, more averſe, perhaps, than any other people to the government of ſtrangers, approved of all his efforts to preſerve his authority. Even the nobles, influenced by this national paſſion, and forgetting their jealouſies and diſcontents, choſe rather to ſee the ſupreme power in the hands of one of their countrymen, whom they feared, than in thoſe of foreigners, whom they hated.

An additional number of regents appointed.

Ximenes retains the direction of affairs.

His ſucceſsful war in Navarre.

XIMENES, though engaged in ſuch great ſchemes of domeſtick policy, and embarraſſed by the artifices and intrigues of the Flemiſh miniſters, had the burden of two foreign wars to ſupport. The one was in Navarre, invaded by its unfortunate monarch, John d'Albret. The death of Ferdinand, the abſence of Charles, the diſcord and diſaffection which reigned among the

the Spaniſh nobles, ſeemed to preſent him with a favourable opportunity of recovering his dominions. The Cardinal's vigilance, however, defeated a meaſure ſo well concerted. As he foreſaw the danger to which that kingdom might be expoſed, one of his firſt acts of adminiſtration was to order thither a conſiderable body of troops. While the king was employed with one part of his army in the ſiege of St. Jean Pied en Port, Villalva, an officer of great experience and courage, attacked the other by ſurpriſe, and cut it to pieces. The king inſtantly retreated with precipitation, and an end was put to the war [x]. But as Navarre was filled at that time with towns and caſtles, ſlightly fortified, and weakly garriſoned, which being unable to reſiſt an enemy, ſerved only to furniſh him with places of retreat; Ximenes, always bold and deciſive in his meaſures, ordered every one of theſe to be diſmantled, except Pampeluna, the fortifications of which he propoſed to render very ſtrong. To this uncommon precaution Spain owes the poſſeſſion of Navarre. The French, ſince that period, have often entered, and have as often over-run the open country; but while they were expoſed to all the inconveniencies attending an invading army, the Spaniards have eaſily drawn troops from the neighbouring provinces to oppoſe them; and the French, being deſtitute of ſtrong towns to which they could retire, have been obliged to abandon their conqueſt with as much rapidity as they gained it.

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The war which he carried on in Africa, againſt the famous adventurer Horuc Barbaroſſa, who, from a private corſair, raiſed himſelf, by his ſingular valour and addreſs, to be king

His operations in Africa leſs fortunate.

[x] P. Mart. Ep. 570.

Book I. king of Algiers and Tunis, was far from being equally ſucceſsful. The ill conduct of the Spaniſh general, and the raſh valour of his troops, preſented Barbaroſſa with an eaſy victory. Many periſhed in the battle, more in the retreat, and the remainder returned into Spain covered with infamy. The magnanimity, however, with which the Cardinal bore this diſgrace, the only one he experienced during his adminiſtration, added new luſtre to his character [y]. Great compoſure of temper under a diſappointment, was not expected from a man ſo remarkable for the eagerneſs and impatience with which he urged on the execution of all his ſchemes.

1516.

Corruption of the Flemiſh miniſters, particularly of Chievres.

THIS diſaſter was ſoon forgotten; while the conduct of the Flemiſh court proved the cauſe of conſtant uneaſineſs, not only to the Cardinal, but to the whole Spaniſh nation. All the great qualities of Chievres, the prime miniſter and favourite of the young king, were ſullied with an ignoble and ſordid avarice. The acceſſion of his maſter to the crown of Spain, opened a new and copious ſource for the gratification of this paſſion. During the time of Charles's reſidence in Flanders, the whole tribe of pretenders to offices or to favour reſorted thither. They ſoon diſcovered that, without the patronage of Chievres, it was vain to hope for preferment; nor did they want ſagacity to find out the proper method of ſecuring his protection. Vaſt ſums of money were drawn out of Spain. Every thing was venal, and diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder. After the example of Chievres, the inferior Flemiſh miniſters engaged in this traffick, which became as general and avowed, as it was infamous.

[y] Gometius, lib. vi. p. 179.

infamous [2]. The Spaniards were filled with rage when they beheld offices of great importance to the welfare of their country, ſet to ſale by ſtrangers, unconcerned for its honour or its happineſs. Ximenes, diſintereſted in his whole adminiſtration, and a ſtranger, from his native grandeur of mind, to the paſſion of avarice, inveighed with the utmoſt boldneſs againſt the venality of the Flemings. He repreſented to the King in ſtrong terms, the murmurs and indignation which their behaviour excited among a free and high ſpirited people, and beſought him to ſet out without loſs of time for Spain, that, by his preſence, he might diſſipate the clouds which were gathering all over the kingdom [a].

1516.

Charles perſuaded by Ximenes to viſit Spain.

Charles was fully ſenſible that he had delayed too long to take poſſeſſion of his dominions in Spain. Powerful obſtacles, however, ſtood in his way, and detained him in the Low Countries. The war which the league of Cambray had kindled in Italy, ſtill ſubſiſted; though, during its courſe, the armies of all the parties engaged in it, had changed their deſtination and their objects. France was now in alliance with Venice, which it had at firſt combined to deſtroy. Maximilian and Ferdinand had for ſome years carried on hoſtilities againſt France, their original ally, to the valour of whoſe troops the confederacy had been indebted for all its ſucceſs. Together with his kingdoms, Ferdinand tranſmitted this war to his grandſon; and there was reaſon to expect that Maximilian, always fond of new enterprizes, would perſuade the young monarch to enter into it with ardour. But the Flemings, who had long poſſeſſed an extenſive commerce,

[2] Miniana, Contin. l. i. c. 2. [a] P. Mart. Ep. 576.

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commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with France; and Chievres, ſagacious to diſcern the true intereſt of his country, and not warped on this occaſion by his love of wealth, warmly declared for maintaining peace with the French nation. Francis I. deſtitute of allies, and ſolicitous to ſecure his late conqueſts in Italy by a treaty, liſtened with joy to the firſt overtures of accommodation. Chievres himſelf conducted the negociation in name of Charles. Gouffier appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. Each of them had preſided over the education of the prince whom he repreſented. They had both adopted the ſame pacific ſyſtem; and were equally perſuaded that the union of the two monarchs was the happieſt event for themſelves, as well as for their kingdoms. In ſuch hands the negociation did not languiſh. A few days after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs; the chief articles in which were, that Francis ſhould give in marriage to Charles his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Louiſe, an infant of a year old, and as her dowry, ſhould make over to him all his claims and pretenſions upon the kingdom of Naples; that in conſideration of Charles's being already in poſſeſſion of Naples, he ſhould, until the accompliſhment of the marriage, pay an hundred thouſand crowns a year to the French king; and the half of that ſum annually, as long as the princeſs had no children; that when Charles ſhall arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre may repreſent to him their right to that kingdom; and if he do not give them ſatisfaction, Francis ſhould be at liberty to aſſiſt them

A peace concluded with France. Aug. 13, 1516.

them with all his forces [b]. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with thoſe powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war that the league of Cambray had occaſioned. Europe enjoyed a few years of univerſal tranquillity, and was indebted for that bleſſing to two princes, whoſe rivalſhip and ambition kept it in perpetual diſcord and agitation during the remainder of their reigns.

The Flemings averſe to Charles's viſit to Spain

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles ſecured a ſafe paſſage into Spain. It was not, however, the intereſt of his Flemiſh miniſters, that he ſhould viſit that kingdom ſoon. While he reſided in Flanders, the revenues of the Spaniſh crown were ſpent there, and they engroſſed, without any competitors, all the effects of their monarch's generoſity; their country became the ſeat of government, and all favours were diſpenſed by them. Of all theſe advantages, they run the riſque of ſeeing themſelves deprived, from the moment that their ſovereign entered Spain. The Spaniards would naturally aſſume the direction of their own affairs; the Low Countries would be conſidered only as a Province of that mighty monarchy; and they who now diſtributed the favours of the prince to others, muſt then be content to receive them from the hands of ſtrangers. But what Chievres chiefly wiſhed to avoid was, an interview between the king and Ximenes. On the one hand, the wiſdom, the integrity, and the magnanimity of that prelate, gave him a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of men; and it was extremely

Afraid of Ximenes.

[b] Leonard Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 69.

Book I. 1516. extremely probable, that theſe great qualities, added to the reverence due to his age and office, would command the reſpect of a young prince, who, capable of noble and generous ſentiments himſelf, would, in proportion to his admiration of the Cardinal's virtues, leſſen his deference towards perſons of another character. Or, on the other hand, if Charles ſhould allow his Flemiſh favourites to retain all the influence over his councils which they at preſent poſſeſſed, it was eaſy to foreſee that the Cardinal would remonſtrate loudly againſt ſuch an indignity to the Spaniſh nation, and vindicate the rights of his country with the ſame intrepidity and ſucceſs, that he had aſſerted the prerogatives of the crown. For theſe reaſons, all his Flemiſh counſellors combined to retard his departure; and Charles, unſuſpicious, from want of experience, and fond of his native country, ſuffered himſelf to be unneceſſarily detained in the Netherlands a whole year after ſigning the treaty of Noyon.

1517. Charles embarks for Spain. THE repeated entreaties of Ximenes, the advice of his grandfather Maximilian, and the impatient murmurs of his Spaniſh ſubjects, prevailed on him at laſt to embark. He was attended not only by Chievres, his prime miniſter, but by a numerous and ſplendid train of the Flemiſh nobles, fond of beholding the grandeur, or of ſharing in the bounty of their prince. Sept. 13. After a dangerous voyage, he landed at Villa Vicioſa, in the province of Aſturias, and was received with ſuch loud acclamations of joy, as a new monarch, whoſe arrival was ſo ardently deſired, had reaſon to expect. The Spaniſh nobility reſorted to their ſovereign from all parts of the kingdom, and diſplayed a magnificence

ficence which the Flemings were unable to emulate [c].

1517.

His Flemiſh miniſters endeavour to prevent an interview with Ximenes.

Ximenes, who conſidered the preſence of the king as the greateſt bleſſing to his dominions, was advancing towards the coaſt, as faſt as the infirm ſtate of his health would permit, in order to receive him. During his regency, and notwithſtanding his extreme old age, he had abated, in no degree, the rigour or frequency of his mortifications; and to theſe he added ſuch laborious aſſiduity in buſineſs, as would have worn out the moſt youthful and vigorous conſtitution. Every day he employed ſeveral hours in devotion; he celebrated maſs in perſon; he even allotted ſome ſpace for ſtudy. Notwithſtanding theſe occupations, he regularly attended the council; he received and read all papers preſented to him; he dictated letters and inſtructions; and took under his inſpection all buſineſs, civil, eccleſiaſtical, or military. Every moment of his time was filled up with ſome ſerious employment. The only amuſement in which he indulged himſelf by way of relaxation after buſineſs, was to canvaſs, with a few friars and divines, ſome intricate article in ſcholaſtic theology. Waſted by ſuch a courſe of life, the infirmities of age daily grew upon him. On his journey, a violent diſorder ſeized him at Bos Equillos, attended with uncommon ſymptoms; which his followers conſidered as the effect of poiſon [d], but could not agree whether the crime ought to be imputed to the hatred of the Spaniſh nobles, or to the malice of the Flemiſh courtiers. This accident obliging him to ſtop ſhort, he wrote to Charles, and with his uſual boldneſs

[c] P. Mart. Ep. 599. 601.

[d] Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3.

Book I. boldneſs adviſed him to diſmiſs all the ſtrangers in his train, whoſe numbers and credit gave offence already to the Spaniards, and would ere long alienate the affections of the whole people. At the ſame time, he earneſtly deſired to have an interview with the king, that he might inform him of the ſtate of the nation, and the temper of his ſubjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemings, but the Spaniſh grandees, employed all their addreſs, and induſtriouſly kept Charles at a diſtance from Aranda, the place to which the Cardinal had removed. Through their ſuggeſtions, every meaſure that he recommended was rejected; the utmoſt care was taken to make him feel, and to point out to the whole nation, that his power was on the decline; even in things purely trivial, ſuch a choice was always made, as was deemed moſt diſagreeable to him. Ximenes did not bear this treatment with his uſual fortitude of ſpirit. Conſcious of his own integrity and merit, he expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom more flouriſhing than it had been in any former age, together with authority more extenſive and better eſtabliſhed, than the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors had ever poſſeſſed. He could not, therefore, on many occaſions, refrain from giving vent to his indignation and complaints. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities which it would ſuffer from the inſolence, the rapaciouſneſs, and ignorance of ſtrangers. While his mind was agitated by theſe paſſions, he received a letter from the king, in which, after a few cold and formal expreſſions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his dioceſe; that after a life of ſuch continued labour, he might end his days in tranquillity. This meſſage proved fatal to Ximenes, his haughty mind, it is probable, would

1517. Charles's ingratitude to Ximenes.

His death.

would not ſurvive diſgrace; perhaps his generous heart could not bear the proſpect of the misfortunes ready to fall on his country. Whichſoever of theſe opinions we embrace, certain it is that he expired a few hours after reading the letter [e]. The variety, the grandeur, and the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, during a regency of only twenty months, leave it doubtful, whether his ſagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldneſs in execution, deſerve the greateſt praiſe. His reputation is ſtill high in Spain, not only for wiſdom, but for ſanctity; and he is the only prime miniſter mentioned in hiſtory, whom his contemporaries reverenced as a ſaint [f], and to whom the people under his government aſcribed the power of working miracles.

1517. Nov. 8.

Soon after the death of Ximenes, Charles made his publick entry, with great pomp, into Valladolid, whither he had ſummoned the Cortes of Caſtile. Though he aſſumed on all occaſions the name of king, that title had never been acknowledged in the Cortes. The Spaniards conſidering Joanna as poſſeſſed of the ſole right to the crown, and no example of a ſon's having enjoyed the title of king during the life of his parents occurring in their hiſtory, the Cortes diſcovered all that ſcrupulous reſpect for ancient forms, and that averſion to innovation, which are conſpicuous in popular aſſemblies. The preſence, however, of their prince, the addreſs, the artifices, and the threats of his miniſters, prevailed on them at laſt to proclaim him king, in conjunction with his mother, whoſe name they appointed to be placed before that of her ſon

1518. Cortes held at Valladolid.

Declares Charles king.

[e] Marſollier, Vie de Ximenes, p. 447. Gometius, lib. vii p. 206, &c. Baudier Hiſt. de Ximen p. 208.

[f] Flechier, Vie de Ximen. ii. 746.

Book I. 1518. ſon in all publick acts. But, when they made this conceſſion, they declared that, if at any future period Joanna ſhould recover the exerciſe of reaſon, the whole authority ſhould return into her hands. At the ſame time, they voted a free gift of ſix hundred thouſand ducats to be paid in three years, a ſum more conſiderable than had ever been granted to any former monarch [g].

Diſcontent of the Caſtilians, and the cauſes of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this obſequiouſneſs of the Cortes to the will of the king, the moſt violent ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction with his government began to break out in the kingdom. Chievres had acquired over the mind of the young monarch the aſcendant not only of a tutor, but of a parent. Charles ſeemed to have no ſentiments but thoſe which his miniſter inſpired, and ſcarcely uttered a word but what he put into his mouth. He was conſtantly ſurrounded by Flemings; no perſon got acceſs to him without their permiſſion; nor was any admitted to audience but in their preſence. As he ſpoke the Spaniſh language very imperfectly, his anſwers were always extremely ſhort, and often delivered with heſitation. From all theſe circumſtances, many of the Spaniards were led to believe that he was a prince of a ſlow and narrow genius. Some pretended to diſcover a ſtrong reſemblance between him and his mother, and began to whiſper that his capacity for government would never be far ſuperior to hers; and though they who had the beſt opportunity of judging concerning his character, maintained, that notwithſtanding ſuch unpromiſing appearances, he poſſeſſed a large fund of knowledge as

[g] Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. P. Mart. Ep. 608. Sandov. p. 12.

as well as of ſagacity [h]; yet all agreed in condemning his partiality towards his countrymen, and his attachment to his favourites, as unreaſonable and immoderate. Unfortunately for Charles, theſe favourites were unworthy of his confidence. To amaſs wealth ſeems to have been their only aim; and as they had reaſon to fear, that either their maſter's good ſenſe, or the indignation of the Spaniards, might ſoon abridge their power, they haſtened to improve the preſent opportunity, and their avarice was the more rapacious, becauſe they expected their authority to be of no long duration. All honours, offices, and benefices, were either engroſſed by the Flemings, or publickly ſold by them. Chievres, his wife, and Sauvage, whom Charles, on the death of Ximenes, had imprudently raiſed to be chancellor of Caſtile, vied with each other in all the refinements of extortion and venality. Not only the Spaniſh hiſtorians, who, from reſentment, may be ſuſpected of exaggeration, but Peter Martyr Angleria, an Italian, who reſided at that time in the court of Spain, and who was under no temptation to deceive the perſons to whom his letters are addreſſed, give a deſcription which is almoſt incredible, of the inſatiable and ſhameleſs covetouſneſs of the Flemings. According to Angleria's calculation, which he aſſerts to be extremely moderate, they remitted into the Low Countries, in the ſpace of ten months, no leſs a ſum than a million and one hundred thouſand ducats. The nomination of William de Croy, Chievres' nephew, a young man not of canonical age, to the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, exaſperated the Spaniards more than all theſe exactions. They conſidered the elevation of a ſtranger to the head of their church, and to the richeſt benefice in the kingdom, not only as an injury,

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[h] Sandoval, p. 31. P. Mart. Ep. 655.

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injury, but as an inſult to the whole nation; both clergy and laity, the former from intereſt, the latter from indignation, joined in exclaiming againſt it. [i]

Charles holds the Cortes of Aragon.

CHARLES leaving Caſtile thus diſguſted with his adminiſtration, ſet out for Saragoſſa, the capital of Aragon, that he might be preſent in the Cortes of that kingdom. On his way thither, he took leave of his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent into Germany on the pretence of viſiting their grandfather, Maximilian, in his old age. To this prudent precaution, Charles owed the preſervation of his Spaniſh dominions. During the violent commotions which aroſe there ſoon after this period, the Spaniards would infallibly have offered the crown to a prince, who was the darling of the whole nation; nor did Ferdinand want ambition, or counſellors, that might have prompted him to accept of the offer [k].

The Aragoneſe more untractable than the Caſtilians.

THE Aragoneſe had not hitherto acknowledged Charles as king, nor would they allow the Cortes to be aſſembled in his name, but in that of the Juſtiza, to whom, during an interregnum, this privilege belonged [l]. The oppoſition Charles had to ſtruggle with in the Cortes of Aragon, was more violent and obſtinate than that which he had overcome in Caſtile; after long delays, however, and with much difficulty, he perſuaded the members to confer on him the title of king, in conjunction with his mother. At the ſame time he bound himſelf by that ſolemn oath, which the Aragoneſe exacted of their king, never to violate any of their rights or liberties. When a donative was demanded, the members

[i] Sandoval, 28—31. P. Mart. Ep. 608, 611, 613, 614, 622, 623, 639. Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. p. 8.
[k] P. Martyr, Ep 619. Ferreras, viii. 460.
[l] P. Martyr, Ep. 605.

members were ſtill more intractable; many months elapſed before they would agree to grant Charles two hundred thouſand ducats, and that ſum they appropriated ſo ſtrictly for paying debts of the crown, which had long been forgotten, that a very ſmall part of it came into the king's hands. What had happened in Caſtile, taught them caution, and determined them rather to ſatisfy the claims of their fellow-citizens, how obſolete ſoever, than to furniſh ſtrangers the means of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of their country [m]. Book I. 1518.

During theſe proceedings of the Cortes, ambaſſadors arrived at Saragoſſa from Francis I. and the young king of Navarre, demanding the reſtitution of that kingdom in terms of the treaty of Noyon. But neither Charles, nor the Caſtilian nobles whom he conſulted on this occaſion, diſcovered any inclination to part with this acquiſition. A conference held ſoon after at Montpelier, in order to bring this matter to an amicable iſſue, was altogether fruitleſs; while the French urged the injuſtice of the uſurpation, the Spaniards were attentive only to its importance [n].

1519.

From Aragon, Charles proceeded to Catalonia, where he waſted as much time, encountered more difficulties, and gained leſs money. The Flemings were now become ſo odious in every province of Spain by their exactions, that the deſire of mortifying them, and of diſappointing their avarice, augmented the jealouſy with which a free people uſually conduct their deliberations.

[m] P. Martyr, Ep. 615—634. 633. 640.

[n] P. Martyr, Ep. 605.

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1519. Combination of the Caſtilians againſt the Flemiſh miniſters.

The Caſtilians, who had felt moſt ſenſibly the weight and rigour of the oppreſſive ſchemes carried on by the Flemings, reſolved no longer to ſubmit with a tameneſs fatal to themſelves, and which rendered them the objects of ſcorn among the reſt of the Spaniards. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and ſeveral other cities of the firſt rank, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their rights and privileges; and notwithſtanding the ſilence of the nobility, who, on this occaſion, diſcovered neither the public ſpirit nor the reſolution which became their order, the confederates laid before the king a full view of the ſtate of the kingdom, and of the maladminiſtration of his favourites. The preferment of ſtrangers; the exportation of the current coin, the increaſe of taxes, were the grievances of which they chiefly complained; and of theſe they demanded redreſs with that boldneſs which is natural to a free people. Theſe remonſtrances, preſented at firſt at Saragoſſa, and renewed afterwards at Barcelona, Charles treated with great neglect. The confederacy, however, of theſe cities at this juncture, was the beginning of that famous union among the commons of Caſtile, which not long after threw the kingdom into ſuch violent convulſions as ſhook the throne, and almoſt overturned the conſtitution [o].

Death of the Emperor Maximilian. January 12.

Soon after Charles's arrival at Barcelona, he received the account of an event which intereſted him much more than the murmurs of the Caſtilians, or the ſcruples of the Cortes of Catalonia. This was the death of the Emperor Maximilian; an occurrence of ſmall importance in itſelf, for he was a prince conſpicuous neither for

o P. Martyr, Ep. 630. Ferreras, viii. 464.

for his virtues, nor his power, nor his abilities; but rendered by its conſequences more memorable than any that had happened during ſeveral ages. It broke that profound and univerſal peace which then reigned in the Chriſtian world; it excited a rivalſhip between two princes, which threw all Europe into agitation, and kindled wars more general, and of longer duration, than had hitherto been known in modern times. Book I. 1519.

The revolutions occaſioned by the expedition of the French king, Charles VIII. into Italy, had inſpired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the Imperial dignity. The claims of the empire upon ſome of the Italian ſtates were numerous; its juriſdiction over others was extenſive; and though the former had been almoſt abandoned, and the latter ſeldom exerciſed, under princes of ſlender abilities, and of little influence, it was obvious, that, in the hands of an Emperor poſſeſſed of power or genius, they would be employed as engines for ſtretching his dominion over the greater part of that country. Even Maximilian, feeble and unſteady as his conduct always was, had availed himſelf of the infinite pretenſions of the empire, and had reaped advantage from every war and every negotiation in Italy during his reign. Theſe conſiderations, added to the dignity of the ſtation, confeſſedly the firſt among Chriſtian princes, and to the rights inherent in the office, which if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconſiderable, rendered the Imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition.

Maximilian had endeavoured to ſecure the Imperial crown to his grandſon.

Not long before his death, Maximilian had diſcovered great ſolicitude to preſerve this dignity in the Auſtrian family, and to procure the king

Book I. king of Spain to be choſen his ſucceſſor. But he himſelf having never been crowned by the Pope, a ceremony deemed eſſential in that age, was conſidered only as Emperor *elect*. Though hiſtorians did not attend to that diſtinction, neither the Italian or German chancery beſtowed any other title upon him than that of king of the Romans; and no example occurring in hiſtory of any perſon's being choſen a ſucceſſor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their conſtitution knew no name, obſtinately refuſed to gratify Maximilian in that point [p].

1519.

Charles and Francis I. competitors for the empire.

By his death, this difficulty was at once removed, and Charles openly aſpired to that dignity which his grandfather had attempted, without ſucceſs, to ſecure for him. At the ſame time, Francis I. a powerful rival, entered the liſts againſt him; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no leſs illuſtrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretenſions with ſanguine expectations, and with no unpromiſing proſpect of ſucceſs. Charles conſidered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Auſtrian line; he knew that none of the German princes poſſeſſed power or influence enough to appear as his antagoniſt; he flattered himſelf, that no conſideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign prince to a dignity, which during ſo many ages had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and leaſt of

Pretenſions and hopes of Charles.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 13. p. 15. Hiſt. Gener. d'Allemagne, par P. Barre, tom. viii part 1. p. 1087. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. vii. c. 17. 179. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 183.

of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis I. the ſovereign of a people whoſe genius and laws, and manners, differed ſo widely from thoſe of the Germans, that it was hardly poſſible to eſtabliſh any cordial union between them; he truſted not a little to the effect of Maximilian's negociations, which, though they did not attain their end, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation to the Imperial throne; but what he relied on as a chief recommendation, was the fortunate ſituation of his hereditary dominions in Germany, which ſerved as a natural barrier to the empire againſt the encroachments of the Turkiſh power. The conqueſts, the abilities, and the ambition of Sultan Selim II. had ſpread over Europe, at that time, a general and well-founded alarm. By his victories over the Mamalukes, and the extirpation of that gallant body of men, he had not only added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had ſecured to it ſuch a degree of internal tranquillity, that he was ready to turn againſt Chriſtendom the whole force of his arms, which nothing hitherto had been able to reſiſt. The moſt effectual expedient for ſtopping the progreſs of this torrent, ſeemed to be the election of an Emperor, poſſeſſed of extenſive territories in that country, where its firſt impreſſion would be felt, and who, beſides, could combat this formidable enemy with all the forces of a powerful monarchy, and with all the wealth furniſhed by the mines of the new world, or the commerce of the Low Countries. Theſe were the arguments by which Charles publickly ſupported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection, they appeared to be not only plauſible, but convincing. He did not, however, truſt the ſucceſs of his cauſe to theſe alone. Great ſums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and

Book I. 1519. and artifice of negociation were employed; and a conſiderable body of troops kept on foot by the ſtates of the Circle of Suabia, was ſecretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by preſents; the objections of the more ſcrupulous were anſwered or eluded; ſome feeble princes were threatened and over-awed [q].

Of Francis. On the other hand, Francis ſupported his claim with equal eagerneſs, and no leſs confidence of its being well founded. His emiſſaries contended that it was now high time to convince the princes of the houſe of Auſtria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other perſons might aſpire to an honour which their arrogance had come to regard as the property of their family; that it required a ſovereign of mature judgment, and of approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where ſuch unknown opinions concerning religion had been publiſhed, as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened the moſt violent effects; that a young prince, without experience, and who had hitherto given no ſpecimens of his genius for command, was no equal match for Selim, a monarch grown old in the art of war, and in the courſe of victory; whereas a king, who in his early youth had triumphed over the valour and diſcipline of the Swiſs, till then reckoned invincible, would be an antagoniſt not unworthy the Conqueror of the Eaſt; that the fire and impetuoſity of the French cavalry, added to the diſcipline and ſtability of the German infantry, would form an army ſo irreſiſtable, that, inſtead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, it

[q] Guic. lib. 13. 159. Sleidan, Hiſt. of the Reformat. 14. Struvii Corp. Hiſt. German. ii. 971. Not. 20.

it might carry hoſtilities into the heart of their dominions; that the election of Charles would be inconſiſtent with a fundamental conſtitution, by which the perſon who holds the crown of Naples, is excluded from aſpiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would ſoon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretenſions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the Empire, and might prove fatal to it[r]. But while his ambaſſadors enlarged upon theſe and other topicks of the ſame kind, in all the courts of Germany, Francis, ſenſible of the prejudices entertained againſt him as a foreigner, unacquainted with the German language or manners, endeavoured to overcome theſe, and to gain the favour of the princes by immenſe gifts, and by infinite promiſes. As the expeditious method of tranſmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange was then little known, the French ambaſſadors travelled with a train of horſes loaded with treaſure, an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for thoſe to whom they were ſent[s]. Book I. 1519.

Views and intereſt of other ſtates.

THE other European princes could not remain indifferent ſpectators of a conteſt, the deciſion of which ſo nearly affected them. Their common intereſt ought naturally to have formed a general combination, in order to diſappoint both competitors, and to prevent either of them from obtaining ſuch a pre-eminence in power and dignity, as might prove dangerous to the liberties of Europe. But the ideas with reſpect to a proper diſtribution and balance of power were

[r] Guicc. lib. 13. 160. Sleid. p. 16. Geor. Sabini de elect. Car. V. Hiſtoria apud Scardii Script. Rer. Germ. vol. ii. p. 4.

[s] Memoires de Marech. de Fleuranges, p. 296.

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were ſo lately introduced into the ſyſtem of European policy, that they were not hitherto objects of ſufficient attention. The paſſions of ſome princes, the want of foreſight in others, and the fear of giving offence to the candidates, hindered ſuch a ſalutary union of the powers of Europe, and rendered them either totally negligent of the publick ſafety, or kept them from exerting themſelves with vigour in its behalf.

Of the Swiſs.

THE Swiſs Cantons, though they dreaded the elevation of either of the contending monarchs, and though they wiſhed to have ſeen ſome prince whoſe dominions were leſs extenſive, and whoſe power was more moderate, ſeated on the Imperial throne, were prompted, however, by their hatred of the French nation, to give an open preference to the pretenſions of Charles, while they uſed their utmoſt influence to fruſtrate thoſe of Francis [t].

Of the Venetians.

THE Venetians eaſily diſcerned, that it was the intereſt of their Republick to have both the rivals ſet aſide; but their jealouſy of the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe ambition and neighbourhood had been fatal to their grandeur, would not permit them to act up to their own ideas, and led them haſtily to give the ſanction of their approbation to the claim of the French king.

Of Henry VIII.

IT was equally the intereſt, and more in the power of Henry VIII. of England, to prevent either Francis or Charles from acquiring a dignity which would raiſe them ſo far above other monarchs. But though Henry often boaſted, that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, he had neither the ſteady attention, the accurate diſcernment, nor the diſpaſſionate temper which that

[t] Sabinus, p. 6.

that delicate function required. On this occaſion it mortified his vanity ſo much, to ſee himſelf excluded from that noble competition which reflected ſuch honour upon the two antagoniſts, that he took the reſolution of ſending an ambaſſador into Germany, and of declaring himſelf a candidate for the Imperial throne. The ambaſſador, though loaded with careſſes by the German princes and the Pope's nuncio, informed his maſter, that he could hope for no ſucceſs in a claim which he had been ſo late in preferring. Henry, imputing his diſappointment to that circumſtance alone, and ſoothed with this oſtentatious diſplay of his own importance, ſeems to have taken no farther part in the matter, either by contributing to thwart both his rivals, or to promote one of them [u].

Of Leo X.

Leo X. a pontiff no leſs renowned for his political abilities, than for his love of the arts, was the only prince of the age who obſerved the motions of the two contending monarchs with a prudent attention, or who diſcovered a proper ſolicitude for the public ſafety. The Imperial and Papal juriſdiction interfered in ſo many inſtances, the complaints of uſurpation were ſo numerous on both ſides, and the territories of the church owed their ſecurity ſo little to their own force, and ſo much to the weakneſs of the powers around them, that nothing was ſo formidable to the court of Rome as an emperor with extenſive dominions, or of enterprizing genius. Leo trembled at the proſpect of beholding the Imperial crown placed on the head of the king of Spain and of Naples, and the maſter of the new world; nor was he leſs afraid of

[u] Memoires de Fleuranges, 314. Herbert, Hiſt. of Henry VIII.

Book I. 1519. of ſeeing a king of France, who was duke of Milan and lord of Genoa, exalted to that dignity. He foretold that the election of either of them would be fatal to the independence of the holy ſee, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to the liberties of Europe. But to oppoſe them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, required addreſs and caution in proportion to the greatneſs of their power, and their opportunities of taking revenge. Leo was defective in neither. He ſecretly exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number on the Imperial throne, which many of them were capable of filling with honour. He put them in mind of the conſtitution by which the kings of Naples were for ever excluded from that dignity [x]. He warmly exhorted the French King to perſiſt in his claim, not from any deſire that he ſhould gain his end, but as he foreſaw that the Germans would be more diſpoſed to favour the king of Spain, he hoped that Francis himſelf, when he diſcovered his own chance of ſucceſs to be deſperate, would be ſtimulated by reſentment and the ſpirit of rivalſhip, to concur with all his intereſt in raiſing ſome third perſon to the head of the Empire; or on the other hand, if Francis ſhould make unexpected progreſs, he did not doubt but that Charles would be induced by ſimilar motives to act the ſame part; and thus by a prudent attention, the mutual jealouſy of the two rivals might be ſo dexterouſly managed as to diſappoint both. But this ſcheme, the only one which a prince in Leo's ſituation could adopt, though concerted with great wiſdom, was executed with little diſcretion. The French ambaſſadors in Germany fed their

[x] Goldaſti Conſtitutiones Imperiales. Francof. 1673. vol. i. 439.

their maſter with vain hopes; the pope's nuncio, being gained by them, altogether forgot the inſtructions which he had received; and Francis perſevered ſo long and with ſuch obſtinacy in urging his own pretenſions, as rendered all Leo's meaſures abortive [y]. Book I. 1519.

The diet aſſembles. June 17th.

Such were the hopes of the candidates, and the views of the different princes, when the diet was opened according to form at Frankfort. The right of chuſing an Emperor had long been veſted in ſeven great princes, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Electors, the origin of whoſe office, as well as the nature and extent of their powers, have already been explained. Theſe were, at that time, Albert of Brandenburgh, archbiſhop of Mentz; Herman count de Wied, archbiſhop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklau, archbiſhop of Treves; Lewis, king of Bohemia; Lewis, count Palatin of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and Joachim I. marquis of Brandenburgh. Notwithſtanding the artful arguments produced by the ambaſſadors of the two kings in favour of their reſpective maſters, and in ſpite of all their ſolicitations, intrigues, and preſents, the Electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German conſtitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanick body, which is a great republick compoſed of ſtates almoſt independent, the firſt principle of patriotiſm is to depreſs and limit the power of the Emperor; and of this idea, ſo natural under ſuch a form of government, a German politician ſeldom loſes ſight. No prince of conſiderable power, or extenſive dominions, had

Views of the Electors.

[y] Guicciar. lib. 13. 161.

Book I. had for ſome ages been raiſed to the Imperial throne. To this prudent precaution many of the great families in Germany owed the ſplendour and independence which they had acquired during that period. To elect either of the contending monarchs, would have been a groſs violation of that ſalutary maxim; would have given to the Empire a maſter, inſtead of an head; and would have reduced themſelves from the rank of equals, to the condition of ſubjects.

1519.

Offer the Imperial crown to Frederick of Saxony,

FULL of theſe ideas, all the electors turned their eyes towards Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince of ſuch eminent virtue, and abilities, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Sage*, and with one voice they offered him the Imperial crown. He was not dazzled with that object, which monarchs ſo far ſuperior to him in power courted with ſuch eagerneſs; and after deliberating upon the matter a ſhort time, he rejected it with a magnanimity and diſintereſtedneſs, no leſs ſingular than admirable. Nothing, he obſerved, could be more impolitick, than an obſtinate adherence to a maxim which, though ſound and juſt in many caſes, was not applicable to all. In times of tranquillity, ſaid he, we wiſh for an Emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to ſecure our ſafety. The Turkiſh armies, led by a gallant and victorious monarch, are now aſſembling. They are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The Imperial ſceptre muſt be committed to ſome hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We poſſeſs neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority,

who rejects it,

authority, which enable us to encounter ſuch a formidable enemy. Recourſe muſt be had in this exigency to one of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces ſufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction; as he is a member and prince of the empire by the territories which deſcend to him from his grandfather; as his dominions ſtretch along that frontier which lies moſt expoſed to the enemy; his claim is preferable, in my opinion, to that of a ſtranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country; and therefore I give my vote to confer on him the Imperial crown. Book I. 1519.

THIS opinion, dictated by ſuch uncommon generoſity, and ſupported by arguments ſo plauſible, made a deep impreſſion on the Electors. The king of Spain's ambaſſadors, ſenſible of the important ſervice which Frederick had done their maſter, ſent him a conſiderable ſum of money, as the firſt token of that prince's gratitude. But he who had greatneſs of mind to refuſe a crown, diſdained to receive a bribe; and upon their entreating that, at leaſt, he would permit them to diſtribute part of that ſum among his courtiers, he replied, That he could not prevent them from accepting what ſhould be offered, but whoever took a ſingle florin ſhould be diſmiſſed next morning from his ſervice [z]. and refuſes any preſent from Charles's ambaſſadors.

No

[z] P. Daniel, an hiſtorian of conſiderable name, ſeems to call in queſtion the truth of this account of Frederick's behaviour in refuſing the imperial crown, becauſe it is not mentioned by Georgius Sabinus in his hiſtory of the election and coronation of Charles V. tom. iii. p. 63. But no great ſtreſs ought to be laid on an omiſſion in a ſuperficial author, whoſe treatiſe, though dignified with the name of hiſtory, contains only ſuch an account of the ceremonial of Charles's election,

Book I.

1519. Further deliberations of the electors.

No prince in Germany could now aſpire to a dignity, which Frederick had declined for reaſons applicable to them all. It remained to make a choice between the two great competitors. But beſides the prejudice in Charles's favour, ariſing from his birth, as well as the ſituation of his German dominions, he owed not a little to the abilities of the cardinal de Gurk, and the zeal of Erard de la Mark, biſhop of Liege, two of his ambaſſadors, who had conducted their negociations with more prudence and addreſs than thoſe entruſted by the French king. The former, who had long been the miniſter and favourite of Maximilian, was well acquainted with the art of managing the Germans; and the latter having been diſappointed of a cardinal's hat by Francis, employed all the malicious ingenuity with which the deſire of revenge inſpires an ambitious mind, in thwarting the meaſures of that monarch. The Spaniſh party among the Electors daily gained ground; and even the Pope's nuncio, being convinced that it was vain to make any farther oppoſition, endeavoured to acquire ſome merit with the future Emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his maſter, a diſpenſation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples [a].

On

election, as is uſually publiſhed in Germany on like occaſions. Scard. Rer. Germ. Script. v. 2. p. 1. The teſtimony of Eraſmus, lib. 13. epiſt. 4. and that of Sleidan, p. 18. are expreſs. Seckendorf in his Commentarius Hiſtoricus & Apologeticus de Lutheraniſmo, p. 121, has examined this fact with his uſual induſtry, and has eſtabliſhed its truth by the moſt undoubted evidence. To theſe teſtimonies which he has collected, I may add the deciſive one of cardinal Cajetan, the popes legate at Frankfort, in his letter July 5th, 1519. Epiſtres au Princes, &c. recuellies par Ruſcelli traduicts par Belforreſt. Par. 1572. p. 60.

[a] Freheri Rer. German. Scriptores, vol iii. 172. cur. Struvii Argent. 1717. Gianone Hiſt. of Naples, 2, 498.

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important conteſt, which had held all Europe in ſuſpence, was decided. Six of the Electors had already declared for the king of Spain; and the archbiſhop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French intereſt, having at laſt joined his brethren, Charles was by the unanimous voice of the electoral college raiſed to the imperial throne [b].

They chuſe Charles emperor.

But though the electors conſented, from various motives, to promote Charles to that high ſtation, they diſcovered at the ſame time great jealouſy of his extraordinary power, and endeavoured, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, to provide againſt his encroaching on the privileges of the Germanick body. It had long been the cuſtom to demand of every new Emperor a confirmation of theſe privileges, and to require a promiſe that he would never violate them in any inſtance. While princes, who were formidable neither from extent of territory, nor of genius, poſſeſſed the Imperial throne, a general and verbal engagement to this purpoſe was deemed ſufficient ſecurity. But under an Emperor ſo powerful as Charles, other precautions ſeemed neceſſary. A *Capitulation* or claim of rights was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the electors, of the princes of the empire, of the cities, and of every other member of the Germanick body, are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately ſigned by Charles's ambaſſadors in the name of their maſter, and he himſelf at his coronation confirmed it in the moſt ſolemn manner. Since that period, the

They are apprehenſive of his power, and take precautions againſt it.

[b] Jac. Aug. Thuan. Hiſt. ſui temporis. Edit. Bulkley, lib. 1. c. 9.

Book I. 1519. Electors have continued to preſcribe the ſame conditions to all his ſucceſſors; and the Capitulation or mutual contract between the Emperor and his ſubjects, is conſidered in Germany as a ſtrong barrier againſt the progreſs of the Imperial power, and as the great charter of their liberties to which they often appeal [c].

The election notified to Charles.

THE important intelligence of his election was conveyed in nine days from Frankfort to Barcelona, where Charles was ſtill detained by the obſtinacy of the Catalonian Cortes, which had not hitherto brought to an iſſue any of the affairs which came before it. He received the account with the joy natural to a young and aſpiring mind, on an acceſſion of power and dignity which raiſed him ſo far above the other princes of Europe. Then it was that thoſe vaſt proſpects which allured him during his whole adminiſtration began to open, and from this æra we may date the formation, and are able to trace the gradual progreſs of a grand ſyſtem of enterprizing ambition, which renders the hiſtory of his reign ſo worthy of attention.

Its effect upon him.

A TRIVIAL circumſtance firſt diſcovered the effects of this great elevation upon the mind of Charles In all the publick writs which he iſſued as king of Spain, he aſſumed the title of *Majeſty*, and required it from his ſubjects as a mark of their reſpect. Before that time, all the monarchs of Europe were ſatisfied with the appellation of *Highneſs*, or *Grace*; but the vanity of other courts ſoon led them to imitate the example of the Spaniſh. The epithet of Majeſty is

[c] Pfeffel Abregè de l'Hiſt. de Droit Publique d'Allemagne, 590. Limnei Capitulat. Imper. Epiſtres des Princes par Ruſcelli, p. 60.

is no longer a mark of pre-eminence. The moſt inconſiderable monarchs in Europe enjoy it, and the arrogance of the greater potentates has invented no higher denomination [d]. Book 1. 1519.

THE Spaniards were far from viewing the promotion of their king to the Imperial throne with the ſame ſatisfaction which he himſelf felt. To be deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, and to be ſubjected to the government of a viceroy and his council, a ſpecies of adminiſtration often oppreſſive, and always diſagreeable, were the immediate and neceſſary conſequences of this new dignity. To ſee the blood of their countrymen ſhed in quarrels wherein the nation had no concern; to behold its treaſures waſted in ſupporting the ſplendour of a foreign title; to be plunged in the chaos of Italian and German politics, were effects of this event almoſt as unavoidable. From all theſe conſiderations, they concluded, that nothing could have happened more pernicious to the Spaniſh nation; and the fortitude and publick ſpirit of their anceſtors, who, in the Cortes of Caſtile, prohibited Alphonzo the Wiſe from leaving the kingdom, in order to receive the Imperial crown, were often mentioned with the higheſt praiſe, and pronounced to be extremely worthy of imitation at this juncture [e]. The Spaniards diſſatisfied with this event.

BUT Charles, without regarding the ſentiments or murmurs of his Spaniſh ſubjects, accepted of the Imperial dignity which the count Palatine, at the head of a ſolemn embaſſy, offered him in the name of the electors; and November. declared

[d] Minianæ Contin. Mar. p. 13. Ferreras, viii. 475. Memoires Hiſt. de la Houſſaie, tom. i. p. 53, &c.

[e] Sandoval, i. p. 32. Miniana, Contin. p. 14.

Book I. 1519. declared his intention of ſetting out ſoon for Germany, in order to take poſſeſſion of it This was the more neceſſary, becauſe, according to the forms of the German conſtitution, he could not, before the ceremony of a publick coronation, exerciſe any act of juriſdiction or authority [f].

Their diſcontent increaſes.

THEIR certain knowledge of this reſolution augmented ſo much the diſguſt of the Spaniards, that a ſullen and refractory ſpirit prevailed among perſons of all ranks. The Pope having granted the king the tenths of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in Caſtile to aſſiſt him in carrying on war with greater vigour againſt the Turks, a convocation of the clergy unanimouſly refuſed to levy that ſum, upon pretence that it ought never to be exacted but at thoſe times when Chriſtendom was actually invaded by the Infidels; and though Leo, in order to ſupport his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, ſo little regard was paid to a cenſure which was univerſally deemed unjuſt, that Charles himſelf applied to have it taken off. Thus the Spaniſh clergy, beſides their merit in oppoſing the uſurpations of the Pope, and diſregarding the influence of the crown, gained the exemption which they had claimed [g].

An inſurrection in Valencia.

THE commotions which aroſe in the kingdom of Valencia, annexed to the crown of Aragon, were more formidable, and produced more dangerous and laſting effects. A ſeditious monk having by his ſermons excited the citizens of Valencia, the capital city, to take arms, and to puniſh certain criminals in a tumultuary manner, the people, pleaſed with this exerciſe of power,

[f] Sabinus. P. Barre, viii. 1085. [g] P. Martyr, Ep. 462. Ferreras, viii. 473.

power, and with ſuch a diſcovery of their own importance, not only refuſed to lay down their arms, but formed themſelves into troops and companies that they might be regularly trained to martial exerciſes. To obtain ſome ſecurity againſt the oppreſſion of the grandees was the motive of this aſſociation, and proved a powerful bond of union; for as the ariſtocratical privileges and independence were more complete in Valencia than in any other of the Spaniſh kingdoms, the nobles, being ſcarcely accountable for their conduct to any ſuperior, treated the people not only as vaſſals but as ſlaves. They were alarmed, however, at the progreſs of this unexpected inſurrection, as it might encourage the people to attempt ſhaking off the yoke altogether; but as they could not repreſs them without taking arms, it became neceſſary to have recourſe to the Emperor, and to deſire his permiſſion to attack them. At the ſame time the people made choice of deputies to repreſent their grievances, and to implore the protection of their ſovereign. Happily for the latter, they arrived at court when Charles was exaſperated to an high degree againſt the nobility. As he was eager to viſit Germany, where his preſence became every day more neceſſary, and as his Flemiſh courtiers were ſtill more impatient to return into their native country, that they might carry thither the ſpoils which they had amaſſed in Caſtile, it was impoſſible for him to hold the Cortes of Valencia in perſon. He had for that reaſon empowered the Cardinal Adrian to repreſent him in that aſſembly, and in his name to receive their oath of allegiance, to confirm their privileges with the uſual ſolemnities, and to demand of them a free gift. But the Valencian nobles, who conſidered this meaſure as an indignity

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dignity to their country, which was no leſs entitled, than his other kingdoms, to the honour of their ſovereign's preſence, declared that by the fundamental laws of the conſtitution they could neither acknowledge as king a perſon who was abſent, nor grant him any ſubſidy, and to this declaration they adhered with an haughty and inflexible obſtinacy. Charles, piqued with their behaviour, decided in favour of the people, and raſhly authorized them to continue in arms. Their deputies returned in triumph, and were received by their fellow-citizens as the deliverers of their country. The inſolence of the multitude increaſing with their ſucceſs, they expelled all the nobles out of the city, committed the government to magiſtrates of their own election, and entered into an aſſociation diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Germanada* or *Brotherhood*, which proved the ſource not only of the wildeſt diſorders, but of the moſt fatal calamities in that kingdom [h].

The Cortes of Caſtile ſummoned to meet in Galicia.

MEANWHILE, the kingdom of Caſtile was agitated with no leſs violence. No ſooner was the Emperor's intention to leave Spain made known, than ſeveral cities of the firſt rank reſolved to remonſtrate againſt it, and to crave redreſs once more of thoſe grievances which they had formerly laid before him. Charles artfully avoided admitting their deputies to audience; and as he ſaw from this circumſtance, how difficult it would be at this juncture to reſtrain the mutinous ſpirit of the greater cities, he ſummoned the Cortes of Caſtile to meet at Compoſtella, a town in Galicia. His only reaſon for calling that aſſembly, was the hope of obtaining another donative; for as his treaſury had been exhauſted

[h] P. Martyr, Ep. 651. Ferreras, viii. 476, 485.

exhauſted in the ſame proportion that the riches of his miniſters increaſed, he could not, without ſome additional aid, appear in Germany with ſplendour ſuited to the Imperial dignity. To appoint a meeting of the Cortes in ſo remote a province, and to demand a new ſubſidy before the time for paying the former was expired, were innovations of a moſt dangerous tendency; and among people not only jealous of their liberties, but accuſtomed to ſupply the wants of their ſovereigns with a very frugal hand, excited an univerſal alarm. The magiſtrates of Toledo remonſtrated againſt both theſe meaſures in a very high tone; the inhabitants of Valladolid, who expected that the Cortes ſhould have been held in that city, were ſo enraged that they took arms in a tumultuary manner; and if Charles with his foreign counſellors had not fortunately made their eſcape during a violent tempeſt, they would have maſſacred all the Flemings, and have prevented him from continuing his journey towards Compoſtella.

The proceedings of that aſſembly.

EVERY city through which they paſſed, petitioned againſt holding a Cortes in Galicia, a point with regard to which Charles was inflexible. But though the utmoſt influence had been exerted by the miniſters, in order to procure a choice of repreſentatives favourable to their deſigns, ſuch was the temper of the nation, that, at the opening of the aſſembly, there appeared among many of the members unuſual ſymptoms of ill-humour, which threatened a fierce oppoſition to all the meaſures of the court. No repreſentatives were ſent by Toledo; for the lot, according to which, by ancient cuſtom, the election was determined in that city, having fallen upon two perſons, devoted to the Flemiſh miniſters, their fellow-citizens refuſed to grant them

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them a commiſſion in the uſual form, and in their ſtead made choice of two deputies, whom they empowered to repair to Compoſtella, and to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſs of the Cortes aſſembled there. The repreſentatives of Salamanca refuſed to take the uſual oath of fidelity, unleſs Charles conſented to change the place of meeting. Thoſe of Toro, Madrid, Cordova, and ſeveral other places, declared the demand of another donative to be unprecedented, unconſtitutional, and unneceſſary. All the arts, however, which influence popular aſſemblies, bribes, promiſes, threats, and even force, were employed in order to gain members. The nobles, ſoothed by the reſpectful aſſiduity with which Chievres and the other Flemings paid court to them, or inſtigated by a mean jealouſy of that ſpirit of independence which they ſaw riſing among the commons, openly favoured the pretenſions of the court, or at the utmoſt did not oppoſe them; and at laſt, in contempt not only of the ſentiments of the nation, but of the ancient forms of the conſtitution, a majority voted to grant the donative for which the Emperor had applied [i]. Together with this grant, the Cortes laid before Charles a repreſentation of thoſe grievances whereof his people craved redreſs; but he, having obtained from them all that he could expect, paid no attention to this ill-timed petition, which it was no longer dangerous to diſregard [k].

The diſaffection of the Caſtilians increaſes.

As nothing now retarded his embarkation, he diſcloſed his intention with regard to the regency of Caſtile during his abſence, which he had hitherto kept ſecret, and nominated cardinal Adrian

Charles appoints regents during his abſence.

i P. Martyr, Ep. 663. Sandoval, p. 32, &c. k Sandoval, p. 84.

Adrian to that office. The viceroyalty of Aragon he conferred on Don John de Lanuza; that of Valencia on Don Diego de Mendoza Condé de Melito. The choice of the two latter was univerſally acceptable; but the advancement of Adrian, though the only Fleming who had preſerved any reputation among the Spaniards, animated the Caſtilians with new hatred againſt foreigners; and even the nobles, who had ſo tamely ſuffered other inroads upon the conſtitution, felt the indignity offered to their own order by his promotion, and remonſtrated againſt it as illegal. But Charles's deſire of viſiting Germany, as well as the impatience of his miniſters to leave Spain, were now ſo much increaſed, that without regarding the murmurs of the Caſtilians, or even taking time to provide any remedy againſt an inſurrection in Toledo, which at that time threatened, and afterwards produced moſt formidable effects, he ſailed from Corogna on the twenty-ſecond of May; and by ſetting out ſo abruptly in queſt of a new crown, he endangered a more important one of which he was already in poſſeſſion[1].

and embarks for the Low Countries.

[1] P. Martyr, Ep. 670. Sandov. 86.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK II.

Book II.

1520. Charles's preſence in Germany neceſſary.

MANY concurring circumſtances not only called Charles's thoughts towards the affairs of Germany, but rendered his preſence in that country neceſſary. The Electors grew impatient of ſo long an interregnum; his hereditary dominions were diſturbed by inteſtine commotions; and the new opinions concerning religion made ſuch rapid progreſs, as required the moſt ſerious conſideration. But above all, the motions of the French king drew his attention, and convinced him that it was neceſſary to take meaſures for his own defence, with no leſs ſpeed than vigour.

Riſe and progreſs of the rivalſhip between Charles and Francis I

WHEN Charles and Francis entered the liſts as candidates for the Imperial dignity, they conducted their rivalſhip with many profeſſions of regard for each other, and with repeated declarations that they would not ſuffer any tincture of

of enmity to mingle itſelf with this honourable emulation. "We both court the ſame miſtreſs," ſaid Francis, with his uſual vivacity, "each ought to urge his ſuit with all the addreſs of which he is maſter; the moſt fortunate will prevail, and the other muſt reſt contented [a]." But though two young and high-ſpirited Princes, and each of them animated with the hope of ſucceſs, might be capable of forming ſuch a generous reſolution, it was ſoon found that they promiſed upon a moderation too refined and diſintereſted for human nature. The preference given to Charles in the ſight of all Europe, mortified Francis to the higheſt degree, and inſpired him with all the paſſions natural to diſappointed ambition. To this was owing the perſonal jealouſy and rivalſhip which ſubſiſted between the two monarchs during their whole reign; and the rancour of theſe, augmented by a real oppoſition of intereſt, which gave riſe to many unavoidable cauſes of diſcord, involved them in almoſt perpetual hoſtilities. Charles had paid no regard to the principal article in the treaty of Noyon, by refuſing oftener than once to do juſtice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by intereſt, to reſtore to his throne, The French king had pretenſions to the crown of Naples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his predeceſſor by a moſt unjuſtifiable breach of faith. The Emperor might reclaim the dutchy of Milan as a fief of the empire, which Francis had ſeized, and ſtill kept in poſſeſſion, without having received inveſtiture. Charles conſidered the dutchy of Burgundy as the patrimonial domain of his anceſtors, wreſted from them by the unjuſt policy of Louis XI.

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[a] Guic. lib. 13. p. 159.

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XI. and obſerved with the greateſt jealouſy the ſtrict connections which Francis had formed with the duke of Gueldres, the hereditary enemy of his family.

Their deliberations previous to the commencement of hoſtilities.

WHEN the ſources of diſcord were ſo many and various, peace could be of no long continuance, even between princes the moſt exempt from ambition or emulation. But as the ſhock between two ſuch mighty antagoniſts could not fail of being extremely violent, they both diſcovered no ſmall ſolicitude about its conſequences, and took time not only to collect and to ponder their own ſtrength, and to compare it with that of their adverſary, but to ſecure the friendſhip or aſſiſtance of the other European powers.

They negociate with the Pope.

THE Pope had equal reaſon to dread the two rivals, and ſaw that he who prevailed, would become abſolute maſter in Italy. If it had been in his power to engage them in hoſtilities, without rendering Lombardy the theatre of war, nothing would have been more agreeable to him than to ſee them waſte each other's ſtrength in endleſs quarrels. But this was impoſſible. Leo foreſaw, that, on the firſt rupture between the two monarchs, the armies of France and Spain would take the field in the Milaneſe; and while the ſcene of their operations was ſo near, and the ſubject for which they contended ſo intereſting to him, he could not long remain neuter. He was obliged, therefore, to adapt his plan of conduct to his political ſituation. He courted and ſoothed the Emperor and king of France with equal induſtry and addreſs. Though warmly ſolicited by each of them to eſpouſe his cauſe, he aſſumed all the appearances of entire impartiality, and attempted to conceal his real ſentiments

ſentiments under that profound diſſimulation which ſeems to have been affected by moſt of the Italian politicians in that age. Book II. 1520.

With the Venetians.

THE views and intereſt of the Venetians were not different from thoſe of the Pope; nor were they leſs ſolicitous to prevent Italy from becoming the ſeat of war, and their own republic from being involved in the quarrel. But through all Leo's artifices, and notwithſtanding his high pretenſions to a perfect neutrality, it was viſible that he leaned towards the Emperor, from whom he had both more to fear and more to hope than from Francis; and it was equally manifeſt, that if it became neceſſary to take a ſide, the Venetians would, from motives of the ſame nature, declare for the king of France. No conſiderable aſſiſtance, however, was to be expected from the Italian ſtates, who were jealous to an extreme degree of the Tranſalpine powers, and careful to preſerve the balance between them, unleſs when they were ſeduced to violate this favourite maxim of their policy, by the certain proſpect of ſome great advantage to themſelves.

With Henry VIII.

BUT the chief attention both of Charles and of Francis, was employed in order to gain the king of England, from whom each of them expected aſſiſtance more effectual, and afforded with leſs political caution. Henry VIII. had aſcended the throne of that kingdom in the year one thouſand five hundred and nine, with ſuch circumſtances of advantage, as promiſed a reign of diſtinguiſhed felicity and ſplendour. The union in his perſon of the two contending titles of York and Lancaſter; the alacrity and emulation with which both factions obeyed his commands, not only enabled him to exert a degree of vigour and authority in his domeſtic government which

The great power of that monarch.

none

Book II. 1520. none of his predeceſſors could have ſafely aſſumed; but permitted him to take a ſhare in the affairs of the continent, from which the attention of the Engliſh had long been diverted by their unhappy diviſions. The immenſe treaſures which his father had amaſſed, rendered him the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The peace which had ſubſiſted under the cautious adminiſtration of that monarch, was of ſufficient length to recruit the nation after the deſolation of the civil wars, but not ſo long as to enervate its ſpirit; and the Engliſh, aſhamed of having rendered their own country ſo long a ſcene of diſcord and bloodſhed, were eager to diſplay their valour in ſome foreign war, and to revive the memory of the victories gained by their anceſtors.

His character. Henry's own temper perfectly ſuited the ſtate of his kingdom, and the diſpoſition of his ſubjects. Ambitious, active, enterprizing and accompliſhed in all the martial exerciſes which in that age formed a chief part in the education of perſons of noble birth, and inſpired them with an early love of war, he longed to engage in action, and to ſignalize the beginning of his reign by ſome remarkable exploit. An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf; and the victory at Guinegate, together with the ſucceſsful ſieges of Teroüenne and Tournay, though of little utility to England, reflected great luſtre on its monarch, and confirmed the idea which foreign princes entertained of his power and importance. So many concurring cauſes, added to the happy ſituation of his own dominions, which ſecured them from foreign invaſion; and to the fortunate circumſtance of his being in poſſeſſion of Calais, which ſerved not only as a key to France, but opened an eaſy paſſage into the Netherlands, rendered the King of England the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe, and the arbiter between the

Emperor

Emperor and French monarch. Henry himſelf was ſenſible of this ſingular advantage, and convinced, that, in order to preſerve the balance even, it was his office to prevent either of the rivals from acquiring ſuch ſuperiority of power as might be fatal to the other, or formidable to the reſt of Chriſtendom. But he was deſtitute of the penetration, and ſtill more of the temper which ſuch a delicate function required. Influenced by caprice, by vanity, by reſentment, by affection, he was incapable of forming any regular and extenſive ſyſtem of policy, or of adhering to it with ſteadineſs. His meaſures ſeldom reſulted from attention to the general welfare, or from a deliberate regard to his own intereſt, but were dictated by paſſions which rendered him blind to both, and prevented his gaining that aſcendant in the affairs of Europe, or from reaping ſuch advantages to himſelf, as a prince of greater art, though with inferior talents, might have eaſily ſecured.

All the impolitick ſteps in Henry's adminiſtration muſt not, however, be imputed to defects in his own character; many of them were owing to the violent paſſions and inſatiable ambition of his prime miniſter and favourite cardinal Wolſey. This man, from one of the loweſt ranks in life, had riſen to an height of power and dignity, to which no Engliſh ſubject ever arrived; and governed the haughty, preſumptuous, and untractable ſpirit of Henry with abſolute authority. Great talents, and of very different kinds, fitted him for the two oppoſite ſtations of miniſter, and of favourite. His profound judgment, his unwearied induſtry, his thorough acquaintance with the ſtate of the kingdom, his extenſive knowledge of the views and intereſts of foreign courts, qualified him for that

And of his miniſter cardinal Wolſey.

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that uncontrouled direction of affairs with which he was intruſted. The elegance of his manners, the gaiety of his converſation, his inſinuating addreſs, his love of magnificence, and his proficiency in thoſe parts of literature of which Henry was fond, gained him the affection and confidence of the young monarch. Wolſey was far from employing this vaſt and almoſt royal power to promote either the true intereſt of the nation, or the real grandeur of his maſter. Rapacious at the ſame time, and profuſe, he was inſatiable in deſiring wealth. Of boundleſs ambition, he aſpired after new honours with an eagerneſs unabated by his former ſucceſs; and being rendered preſumptuous by his uncommon elevation, as well as by the aſcendant which he had gained over a prince, who ſcarcely brooked advice from any other perſon, he diſcovered in his whole demeanour the moſt overbearing haughtineſs and pride. To theſe paſſions he himſelf ſacrificed every conſideration; and whoever endeavoured to obtain his favour, or that of his maſter, found it neceſſary to ſooth and to gratify them.

The court paid to Wolſey by Francis.

As all the ſtates of Europe ſought Henry's friendſhip at that time, all courted his miniſter with incredible attention and obſequiouſneſs, and ſtrove by preſents, by promiſes, or by flattery to work upon his avarice, his ambition, or his pride [b]. Francis had, in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighteen, employed Bonnivet, admiral of France, one of his moſt accompliſhed and artful courtiers, to gain the haughty prelate. He himſelf beſtowed on him every mark of reſpect and confidence. He conſulted him with regard

[b] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 166. Rymer's Fœdera, xiii. 718.

regard to his moſt important affairs, and received his reſponſes with implicit deference. By theſe arts, together with the grant of a large penſion, Francis ſecured the Cardinal, who perſuaded his maſter to ſurrender Tournay to France, to conclude a treaty of marriage between his daughter the princeſs Mary and the Dauphin, and to conſent to a perſonal interview with the French king [c]. From that time the moſt familiar intercourſe ſubſiſted between the two courts; Francis, ſenſible of the great value of Wolſey's friendſhip, laboured to ſecure the continuance of it by every poſſible expreſſion of regard, beſtowing on him in all his letters the honourable appellation of Father, Tutor, and Governor. 1520.

And by Charles.

CHARLES obſerved the progreſs of this union with the utmoſt jealouſy and concern. His near affinity to the king of England, gave him ſome title to his friendſhip; and ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne of Caſtile, he had attempted to ingratiate himſelf with Wolſey, by ſettling on him a penſion of three thouſand livres. His chief ſolicitude at preſent was to prevent the intended interview with Francis, the effects of which upon two young princes, whoſe hearts were no leſs ſuſceptible of friendſhip than their manners were capable of inſpiring it, he extremely dreaded. But after many delays occaſioned by difficulties about the ceremonial, and by the anxious precautions of both courts for the ſafety of their reſpective ſovereigns, the time and place of meeting were at laſt fixed. Meſſengers had been ſent to different courts, inviting all comers, who were gentlemen, to enter the liſts at tilt and tournament, againſt the two monarchs and their

[c] Herbert's Hiſt. of Hen. VIII. 30. Rymer, xiii. 624.

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knights. Both Francis and Henry loved the ſplendour of theſe ſpectacles too well, and were too much delighted with the graceful figure which they made on ſuch occaſions, to forego the pleaſure or glory which they expected from ſuch a ſingular and brilliant aſſembly. Nor was the Cardinal leſs fond of diſplaying his magnificence in the preſence of two courts, and of diſcovering to the two nations the extent of his influence over both their monarchs. Charles, finding it impoſſible to prevent the interview, endeavoured to diſappoint its effects, and to pre-occupy the favour of the Engliſh monarch, and his miniſter, by an act of complaiſance ſtill more flattering and more uncommon. Having failed from Corunna, as has already been related, he ſteered his courſe directly towards England, and relying wholly on Henry's generoſity for his own ſafety, landed at Dover. This unexpected viſit ſurprized the nation. Wolſey, however, was well acquainted with the Emperor's intention. A negociation, unknown to the hiſtorians of that age, had been carried on between him and the court of Spain; this viſit had been concerted; and Charles granted the Cardinal, whom he calls his *moſt dear friend*, an additional penſion of ſeven thouſand ducats [d]. Henry, who was then at Canterbury, in his way to France, immediately diſpatched Wolſey to Dover, in order to welcome the Emperor; and being highly pleaſed with an event ſo ſoothing to his vanity, haſtened to receive, with ſuitable reſpect, a gueſt who had placed in him ſuch unbounded confidence. Charles, to whom time was precious, ſtaid only four days in England: But during that ſhort ſpace, he had the addreſs not only

Charles viſits England. May 26th.

Inſinuates himſelf into favour both with the king and Wolſey.

[d] Rymer, xiii. 714.

only to give Henry favourable impreſſions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolſey entirely from the intereſt of the French king. All the grandeur, wealth, and power, which the Cardinal poſſeſſed, did not ſatisfy his ambitious mind, while there was one ſtep higher to which an eccleſiaſtic could aſcend. The papal dignity had for ſome time been the object of his wiſhes, and Francis, as the moſt effectual method of ſecuring his friendſhip, had promiſed to favour his pretenſions, on the firſt vacancy, with all his intereſt. But as the emperor's influence in the college of cardinals was greatly ſuperior to the French king's, Wolſey graſped eagerly at an offer which that artful prince had made him of exerting it vigorouſly in his behalf; and allured by this proſpect, which under the pontificate of Leo, ſtill in the prime of his life, was a very diſtant one, he entered with warmth into all the Emperor's ſchemes. No treaty, however, was concluded at that time between the two monarchs; but Henry, in return for the honour which Charles had done him, promiſed to viſit him in ſome place of the Low Countries, immediately after taking leave of the French King.

June 7th. Interview between Henry and Francis.

His interview with that prince was in an open plain between Guiſnes and Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants, diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation, and profuſe expence, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold.* Feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, together with ſuch exerciſes and paſtimes as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than ſerious buſineſs, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they con-

Book II. 1520. tinued together [e]. Whatever impreſſion the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unſuſpicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind of that monarch was ſoon effaced by Wolſey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the Emperor at Gravelines; which was conducted by Charles with leſs pomp than that near Guiſnes, but with greater attention to his political intereſt.

July 10.

Henry's ideas of his own importance.

THIS aſſiduity with which the two greateſt monarchs in Europe paid court to Henry, appeared to him a plain acknowledgment that he held the balance in his hands, and convinced him of the juſtneſs of the motto which he had choſen, "That whoever he favoured would prevail." In this opinion he was confirmed by an offer which Charles made of ſubmitting any difference that might ariſe between him and Francis to his ſole arbitration. Nothing could have the appearance of greater candour and moderation, than the choice of a judge who was reckoned

[e] The French and Engliſh hiſtorians deſcribe the pomp of this interview, and the various ſpectacles, with great minuteneſs. One circumſtance mentioned by the marechal de Fleuranges, who was preſent, and which appears ſingular in the preſent age, is commonly omitted. "After the tournament," ſays he, "the French and Engliſh wreſtlers made their appearance, and wreſtled in preſence of the Kings, and the ladies; and as there were many ſtout wreſtlers there, it afforded excellent paſtime; but as the King of France had neglected to bring any wreſtlers out of Bretagne, the Engliſh gained the prize.—After this, the Kings of France and England retired to a tent, where they drank together, and the King of England ſeizing the King of France by the collar, ſaid, "*My brother, I muſt wreſtle with you,*" and endeavoured once or twice to trip up his heels; but the King of France, who is a dextrous wreſtler, twiſted him round, and threw him on the earth with prodigious violence. The King of England wanted to renew the combat, but was prevented." Memoires de Fleuranges, 12°. Paris, 1753. p. 329.

reckoned the common friend of both. But as the emperor had now attached Wolſey entirely to his intereſt, no propoſal could be more inſidious, nor, as appeared by the ſequel, more fatal to the French king [f]. Book II. 1520.

CHARLES, notwithſtanding his partial fondneſs for the Netherlands, the place of his nativity, made no long ſtay there; and after receiving the homage and congratulations of his countrymen, haſtened to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed by the golden bull for the coronation of the Emperor. There, in preſence of an aſſembly more numerous and ſplendid than had appeared on any former occaſion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous ſolemnity which the Germans affect in their publick ceremonies, and which they deem eſſential to the dignity of their Empire [g]. Coronation of the Emperor. October 23.

ALMOST at the ſame time, Solyman the Magnificent, one of the moſt accompliſhed, enterprizing, and victorious of the Turkiſh princes, a conſtant and formidable rival to the Emperor, aſcended the Ottoman throne. It was the peculiar glory of that period to produce the moſt illuſtrious monarchs, who have at any one time appeared in Europe. Leo, Charles, Francis, Henry and Solyman were each of them poſſeſſed of talents which would have rendered any age wherein they happened to flouriſh, conſpicuous. But ſuch a conſtellation of great princes ſhed uncommon luſtre on the ſixteenth century. In every conteſt, great power as well as great abilities were ſet in oppoſition; the efforts of valour and Solyman the Magnificent aſcends the Ottoman throne.

[f] Herbert, 37. [g] Hartman. Mauri Relatio Coronat. Car. V. ap. Goldaſt. Polit. Imperial. Franc. 1614. fol. p. 264.

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and conduct on one ſide, counterbalanced by an equal exertion of the ſame qualities on the other, not only occaſioned ſuch a variety of events as renders the hiſtory of that period intereſting, but ſerved to check the exorbitant progreſs of any of thoſe princes, and to prevent their attaining ſuch pre-eminence in power as would have been fatal to the liberty and happineſs of mankind.

Diet called to meet at Worms.

THE firſt act of the Emperor's adminiſtration was to appoint a diet of the Empire to be held at Worms on the ſixth of January, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one. In his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them, that he had called this aſſembly in order to concert with them the moſt proper meaſures for checking the progreſs of thoſe new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to diſturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their anceſtors.

Riſe of the Reformation:

CHARLES had in view the opinions which had been propagated by Luther and his diſciples ſince the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen. As theſe led to that happy reformation in religion which reſcued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a revolution in the ſentiments of mankind, the greateſt as well as the moſt beneficial that has happened ſince the publication of Chriſtianity, not only the events which at firſt gave birth to ſuch opinions, but the cauſes which rendered their progreſs ſo rapid and ſucceſsful, deſerve to be conſidered with minute attention.

To overturn a ſyſtem of religious belief, founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices, ſupported

ſupported by power, and defended with no leſs art than induſtry; to eſtabliſh in its room doctrines of the moſt contrary genius and tendency; and to accompliſh all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which hiſtorians the leaſt prone to credulity and ſuperſtition, muſt aſcribe to that Divine Providence which, with infinite eaſe, can bring about events which to human ſagacity appear impoſſible. The interpoſition of Heaven in favour of the Chriſtian religion at its firſt publication, was manifeſted by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it: And though none of the reformers poſſeſſed, or pretended to poſſeſs, theſe ſupernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumſtances which diſpoſed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that ſingular combination of cauſes which ſecured their ſucceſs, and enabled men, deſtitute of power and of policy, to triumph over thoſe who employed both againſt them, may be conſidered as no ſlight proof that the ſame hand which planted the Chriſtian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of ſtrength and maturity.

From inconſiderable beginnings.

It was from cauſes, ſeemingly fortuitous, and from a ſource very inconſiderable, that all the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo X. when raiſed to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhauſted by the vaſt projects of his two ambitious predeceſſors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprizing, rendered him incapable of that ſevere and patient œconomy which the ſituation of his finances required. On the contrary, his ſchemes for aggrandizing the family of Medici, his love of ſplendour, his taſte

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taſte for pleaſure, and his magnificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expences; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device, that the fertile invention of prieſts had fallen upon, to drain the credulous multitude. Among others, he had recourſe to a ſale of *Indulgences*. According to the doctrine of the Romiſh church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above thoſe which were neceſſary towards their own juſtification, are depoſited, together with the infinite merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in one inexhauſtible treaſury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and to his ſucceſſors the Popes, who may open it at pleaſure, and by transferring a portion of this ſuperabundant merit to any particular perſon, for a ſum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own ſins, or a releaſe for any one in whom he is intereſted, from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were firſt invented in the eleventh century by Urban II. as a recompence for thoſe who went in perſon upon the meritorious enterprize of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to thoſe who hired a ſoldier for that purpoſe; and in proceſs of time were beſtowed on ſuch as gave money for accompliſhing any pious work enjoined by the pope[h]. Julius II. had beſtowed Indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expenſive fabrick, his grant was founded on the ſame pretence [i].

A ſale of indulgences publiſhed by Leo X.

So conducted as to give general offence.

The right of promulgating of theſe Indulgences in Germany, together with a ſhare in the profits

[h] Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, by F. Paul, p. 4.
[i] Palavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trident. p. 4.

profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though by magnifying excessively the benefit of their Indulgences, and by

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[k] As the form of these indulgences, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are unknown in protestant countries, and little understood, at present, in several places where the Roman catholic religion is established, I have, for the information of my readers, translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel. "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see, and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in Purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism, so that when you die the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of Indulgences, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost incredible. If any man (said they) purchases letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption Indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in

Book II. 1520. by diſpoſing of them at a very low price, they carried on for ſome time an extenſive and lucrative traffick among the credulous multitude, the extravagance of their aſſertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at laſt to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at ſeeing their vaſſals drained of ſo much wealth, in order to repleniſh the treaſury of a profuſe pontiff. Men of piety regretted the deluſion of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their ſins on the Indulgences which they purchaſed, did not think it incumbent on them either to abound in faith, or to practiſe holineſs. Even the moſt unthinking were ſhocked at the ſcandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his aſſociates, who often ſquandered in drunkenneſs, gaming, and low debauchery, thoſe ſums which were piouſly beſtowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happineſs; and all began to wiſh that ſome check were given to

in the cheſt, inſtantly eſcape from that place of torment, and aſcend into heaven. That the efficacy of Indulgences was ſo great, that the moſt heinous ſins, even if one ſhould violate (which was impoſſible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the perſon be freed both from puniſhment and guilt. That this was the unſpeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himſelf. That the croſs erected by the preachers of Indulgences, was as efficacious as the croſs of Chriſt itſelf. Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve-pence you may redeem the ſoul of your father out of purgatory; and are you ſo ungrateful, that you will not reſcue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to ſtrip yourſelf inſtantly, and ſell it, in order to purchaſe ſuch benefits, &c. Theſe, and many ſuch extravagant expreſſions, are ſelected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius in his Examen Concilii Tridentini apud Herm. Vonder. Hardt. Hiſt. Liter. Reform. pars iv. p. 6. The ſame author has publiſhed ſeveral of Tetzel's Diſcourſes, which prove that theſe expreſſions were neither ſingular nor exaggerated. Ibid. p. 14.

to this commerce, no leſs detrimental to ſociety than deſtructive to religion. BOOK II. 1520.

SUCH was the favourable juncture, and ſo diſpoſed were the minds of his countrymen to liſten to his diſcourſes, when Martin Luther firſt began to call in queſtion the efficacy of Indulgences, and to declaim againſt the vicious lives and falſe doctrines of the perſons employed in promulgating them. He was a native of Eiſleben in Saxony, and though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progreſs of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteneſs of genius. As his mind was naturally ſuſceptible of ſerious impreſſions, and tinctured with ſomewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the ſolitude and devotion of a monaſtic life, he retired into a convent of Auguſtinian friars, and without ſuffering the intreaties of his parents to divert him from what he thought his duty to God, he aſſumed the habit of that order. There he acquired great reputation, not only for piety, but for his love of knowledge, and unwearied application to ſtudy. He had been taught the ſcholaſtic philoſophy and theology which were then in vogue by very able maſters, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and diſtinctions with which they abound; but his underſtanding, naturally ſound, and ſuperior to every thing frivolous, ſoon became diſguſted with theſe ſubtile and uninſtructive ſciences, and ſought for ſome more ſolid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the holy ſcriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monaſtery, he abandoned all other purſuits, and devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of it, with ſuch eagerneſs and aſſiduity, as aſtoniſhed the monks, who were little

First appearance of Luther, and his character.

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little accuſtomed to derive their theological notions from that ſource. The great progreſs which he made in this uncommon courſe of ſtudy, augmented ſo much the fame both of his ſanctity and of his learning, that Frederick, Elector of Saxony, having founded an univerſity at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his reſidence, Luther was choſen firſt to teach philoſophy, and afterwards theology there; and diſcharged both offices in ſuch a manner, that he was deemed the chief ornament of that ſociety.

He oppoſes the ſale of Indulgences

WHILE Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publiſh Indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to aſcribe to them the ſame imaginary virtues, which had, in other places, impoſed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany. Tetzel met with prodigious ſucceſs there. It was with the utmoſt concern, that Luther beheld the artifices of thoſe who ſold, and the ſimplicity of thoſe who bought Indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other ſchoolmen, on which the doctrine of Indulgences was founded, had already loſt much of their authority with him; and the Scriptures, which he began to conſider as the great ſtandard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice, equally ſubverſive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not ſuffer him long to conceal ſuch important diſcoveries, or to continue a ſilent ſpectator of the deluſion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church of Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly againſt the irregularities and vices of the monks who publiſhed

liſhed Indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for ſalvation upon any other means than thoſe appointed by God in his word. The boldneſs and novelty of theſe opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's perſonal character, and delivered with a popular and perſuaſive eloquence, they made a deep impreſſion on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz and archbiſhop of Magdeburg, to whoſe juriſdiction that part of Saxony was ſubject, and remonſtrated warmly againſt the falſe opinions as well as wicked lives of the preachers of Indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply intereſted in their ſucceſs to correct their abuſes. His next attempt was to gain the ſuffrage of men of learning. For this purpoſe, he publiſhed ninety-five theſes, containing his ſentiments with regard to Indulgences. Theſe he propoſed, not as points fully eſtabliſhed, or of undoubted certainty, but as ſubjects of inquiry and diſputation; he appointed a day, on which the learned were invited to impugn them either in perſon, or by writing; to the whole he ſubjoined ſolemn proteſtations of his high reſpect for the apoſtolick ſee, and of his implicit ſubmiſſion to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed; the theſes ſpread over Germany with aſtoniſhing rapidity; they were read with the greateſt eagerneſs; and all admired the boldneſs of the man who had ventured not only to call in queſtion the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquiſitorial authority. [1].

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He publiſhes his theſes againſt them.

THE

[1] Lutheri Opera Jenæ, 1612. vol. i. præfat. 3. p. 2. 66. Hiſt. of Counc. of Trent by F. Paul, p. 4. Seckend. Com. Apol. p. 16.

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1520.

Supported by his own order.

THE Friars of St. Auguſtine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no leſs obſequiouſneſs than the other monaſtic fraternities to the papal ſee, gave no check to the publication of theſe uncommon opinions. Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he profeſſed the higheſt regard for the authority of the Pope; his profeſſions were at that time ſincere; and as a ſecret enmity, excited by intereſt or emulation, ſubſiſts among all the monaſtick orders in the Romiſh church, the Auguſtinians were highly pleaſed with his invectives againſt the Dominicans, and hoped to ſee them expoſed to the hatred and ſcorn of the people. Nor was his ſovereign the Elector of Saxony, the wiſeſt prince at that time in Germany, diſſatisfied with this obſtruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of Indulgences. He ſecretly encouraged the attempt, and flattered himſelf that this diſpute among the eccleſiaſtics themſelves, might give ſome check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the ſecular princes had long, though without ſucceſs, been endeavouring to oppoſe.

Many endeavour to confute him.

MANY zealous champions immediately aroſe to defend opinions on which the wealth and power of the church were founded, againſt Luther's attacks. In oppoſition to his theſes, Tetzel publiſhed counter-theſes at Francfort on the Oder; Eccius, a celebrated divine of Augſburg, endeavoured to refute his notions; and Prierias, a Dominican friar, maſter of the ſacred palace and Inquiſitor-general, wrote againſt him with all the virulence of a ſcholaſtic diſputant. But the manner in which they conducted the controverſy, did little ſervice to their cauſe.

Luther

Luther attempted to combat Indulgences by arguments founded in reaſon, or derived from ſcripture; they produced nothing in ſupport of them but the ſentiments of ſchoolmen, the concluſions of the canon law, and the decrees of Popes [m]. The deciſion of judges ſo partial and intereſted, did not ſatisfy the people, who began to call in queſtion the authority even of theſe venerable guides, when they found them ſtanding in direct oppoſition to the dictates of reaſon, and the determination of the divine law [n]. * Book II. 1520.

MEAN-

[m] F Paul, p. 6. Seckend. p. 40. Palavic. p. 8.

[n] Seckend. p. 30.

* Guicciardini has aſſerted two things with regard to the firſt promulgation of Indulgences; 1. That Leo beſtowed a gift of the profits ariſing from the ſale of Indulgences in Saxony, and the adjacent provinces of Germany, upon his ſiſter Magdalen, the wife of Franceſcetto Cibo, Guic. lib. 13. 168. 2. That Arcemboldo, a Genoeſe eccleſiaſtic, who had been bred a merchant, and ſtill retained all the arts of that profeſſion, was appointed by her to collect the money which ſhould be raiſed. F. Paul has followed him in both theſe particulars, and adds, that the Auguſtinians in Saxony had been immemorially employed in preaching Indulgences; but that Arcemboldo and his deputies, hoping to gain more by committing this truſt to the Dominicans, had made their bargain with Tetzel, and that Luther was prompted at firſt to oppoſe Tetzel, and his aſſociates, by a deſire of taking revenge for this injury offered to his order. F. Paul, p. 5. Almoſt all the hiſtorians ſince their time, popiſh as well as proteſtant, have, without examination, admitted theſe aſſertions to be true upon their authority. But notwithſtanding the concurring teſtimony of two authors ſo eminent both for exactneſs and veracity, we may obſerve,

1. That Felix Contolori, who ſearched the pontifical archives of purpoſe, could not find this pretended grant in any of thoſe regiſters where it muſt neceſſarily have been recorded. Palav. p. 5.—2. That the profits ariſing from Indulgences in Saxony and the adjacent countries, had been granted not to Magdalen, but to Albert archbiſhop of Mentz, who had the right of nominating thoſe who publiſhed them. Seck. p. 12. Luth. Oper. 1. præf. p. 1. Palav p. 6—3. That Arcemboldo never had concern in the publication

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1520. The court of Rome at firſt diſregarded Luther.

MEANWHILE, theſe novelties in Luther's doctrines which intereſted all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleaſures, intent upon great ſchemes of policy, a ſtranger to theological controverſies, and apt to deſpiſe them, regarded with the utmoſt indifference the operations of an obſcure Friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a ſcholaſtick diſputation in a barbarous ſtyle. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himſelf dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be ſo fatal to the papal ſee. Leo imputed the whole to monaſtick enmity

publication of Indulgences in Saxony; his diſtrict was Flanders and the Upper and Lower Rhine. Seck. p. 14. Palav. p. 6.—4. That Luther and his adherents never mention this grant of Leo's to his ſiſter, though a circumſtance of which they could hardly have been ignorant, and which they would have been careful not to ſuppreſs.—5. The publication of Indulgences in Germany, was not uſually committed to the Auguſtinians. The promulgation of them at three different periods under Julius II. was granted to the Franciſcans; the Dominicans had been employed in the ſame office a ſhort time before the preſent period Palav. p. 46.—6. The promulgation of theſe Indulgences, which firſt excited Luther's indignation, was entruſted to the archbiſhop of Mentz in conjunction with the guardian of the Franciſcans; but the latter having declined accepting of that truſt, the ſole right became veſted in the archbiſhop. Palav. 6. Seck. 16, 17.—7. Luther was not inſtigated by his ſuperiors among the Auguſtinians to attack the Dominicans their rivals, or to depreciate Indulgences becauſe they were promulgated by them; his oppoſition to their opinions and vices proceeded from more laudable motives Seck. p. 15. 32. Lutheri Opera 1. p. 64. 6. 8. A diploma of Indulgences is publiſhed by Herm. Vonder Hardt, from which it appears, that the name of the guardian of the Franciſcans is retained together with that of the archbiſhop, although the former did not act. The limits of the country to which their commiſſions extended, viz. the dioceſes of Mentz, Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, and the territories of the marquis of Brandenburgh, are mentioned in that diploma. Hiſt. Literaria Reformat. pars iv. p. 14.

enmity and emulation, and ſeemed inclined not to interpoſe in the conteſt, but to allow the Auguſtinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their uſual animoſity. Book II. 1520.

The progreſs of Luther's opinions.

The ſolicitations, however, of Luther's adverſaries, exaſperated to an high degree by the boldneſs and ſeverity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the ſurprizing progreſs which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, rouſed at laſt the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take meaſures for the ſecurity of the church againſt an attack that now appeared too ſerious to be deſpiſed. For this end, he ſummoned Luther to appear at Rome, within ſixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the ſame Prierias who had written againſt him, whom he empowered to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the ſame time, to the elector of Saxony, beſeeching him not to protect a man whoſe heretical and profane tenets were ſo ſhocking to pious ears; and enjoined the Provincial of the Auguſtinians to check by his authority the raſhneſs of an arrogant monk, which brought diſgrace upon the order of St. Auguſtine, and gave offence and diſturbance to the whole church.

He is ſummoned to appear at Rome. July 1518.

The Pope empowers his legate to try him in Germany.

From the ſtrain of theſe letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge ſo prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther eaſily ſaw what ſentence he might expect at Rome. He diſcovered, for that reaſon, the utmoſt ſolicitude, to have his cauſe tried in Germany, and before a leſs ſuſpected tribunal. The profeſſors in the univerſity of Wittemberg, anxious for the ſafety of a man who did ſo much honour to their ſociety, wrote to the Pope, and after employing

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ſeveral pretexts to excuſe Luther from appearing at Rome, intreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to ſome perſons of learning and authority in Germany. The Elector requeſted the ſame thing of the Pope's legate at the diet of Augſburg; and as Luther himſelf, who, at that time, was ſo far from having any intention to diſclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a moſt ſubmiſſive letter, promiſing an unreſerved compliance with his will, the Pope gratified them ſo far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for ſcholaſtic learning, and paſſionately devoted to the Roman ſee, to hear and determine the cauſe.

Luther appears before the legate.

LUTHER, though he had good reaſon to decline a judge choſen among his avowed adverſaries, did not heſitate about appearing before Cajetan, and having obtained the Emperor's ſafe-conduct, immediately repaired to Augſburg. The Cardinal received him with decent reſpect, and endeavoured at firſt to gain upon him by gentle treatment: But thinking it beneath the dignity of his ſtation to enter into any formal diſpute with a perſon of ſuch inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apoſtolick powers with which he was clothed, to retract the errors which he had uttered with regard to Indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abſtain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully perſuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among perſons conſpicuous both for their learning and piety, was ſurprized at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any

any endeavours were uſed to convince him that he was miſtaken. He had flattered himſelf, that in a conference concerning the points in diſpute, with a prelate of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, he would be able to remove many of thoſe imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagoniſts had loaded him; but the high tone of authority that the Cardinal aſſumed, extinguiſhed at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every proſpect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not deſert him. He declared, with the utmoſt firmneſs, that he could not, with a ſafe conſcience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor ſhould any conſideration ever induce him to do what would be ſo baſe in itſelf, and ſo offenſive to God. At the ſame time, he continued to expreſs no leſs reverence than formerly for the authority of the apoſtolick ſee [o]; he ſignified his willingneſs to ſubmit the whole controverſy to certain univerſities which he named, and promiſed neither to write nor to preach concerning Indulgences for the future, provided his adverſaries were likewiſe enjoined to be ſilent with reſpect to them [p]. All theſe offers Cajetan diſregarded or rejected, and ſtill inſiſted peremptorily on a ſimple recantation, threatening him with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and forbidding him to appear again in his preſence, unleſs he reſolved inſtantly to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, as well as other circumſtances, gave Luther's friends ſuch ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect, that even the Imperial ſafe-conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and reſentment, that they prevailed on him to with-

His intrepid behaviour.

[o] Luth. Oper. vol. i. p. 164. [p] Ibid. p. 169.

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draw ſecretly from Augſburg, and to return to his own country. But before his departure, according to a form of which there had been ſome examples, he prepared a ſolemn appeal, from the Pope, ill informed at that time concerning his cauſe, to the Pope, when he ſhould receive more full information with reſpect to it [q].

His appeal. October 18.

He is ſupported by the Elector of Saxony.

CAJETAN, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the Elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him as he regarded the peace of the church, or the authority of its head, either to ſend that ſeditious monk a priſoner to Rome, or to baniſh him out of his territories. It was not from theological conſiderations that Frederick had hitherto countenanced Luther; he ſeems to have been much a ſtranger to controverſies of that kind, and to have been little intereſted in them. His protection flowed almoſt entirely, as hath been already obſerved, from political motives, and was afforded with great ſecrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's diſcourſes, nor read any of his books; and though all Germany reſounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his preſence [r]. But upon this demand which the cardinal made, it became neceſſary to throw off ſomewhat of his former reſerve. He had been at great expence, and had beſtowed much attention on founding a new univerſity, an object of conſiderable importance to every German prince; and foreſeeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation [s], he, under various pretexts, and with many profeſſions of eſteem for the cardinal, as well as of reverence for the Pope, not only declined complying

[q] Sleid. Hiſt. of Reform. p. 7. Seckend. p. 45. Luth. Oper. i. 163. [r] Seckend. p. 27. Sleid. Hiſt. p. 12.
[s] Seckend. p. 59.

complying with either of his requeſts, but openly diſcovered great concern for Luther's ſafety [t]. Book II. 1520.

Motives of the legate's conduct.

THE inflexible rigour with which Cajetan inſiſted on a ſimple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and hath ſince been cenſured as imprudent, by ſeveral Popiſh writers. But it was impoſſible for the legate to act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were ſo eager to diſplay their zeal againſt his errors, that, without waiting for the expiration of the ſixty days allowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as an heretick [u]. Leo had, in ſeveral of his brieves and letters, ſtigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate ſenſe. Nothing leſs, therefore, than a recantation could ſave the honour of the church, whoſe maxim it is, never to abandon the ſmalleſt point that it has eſtabliſhed, and which is even precluded, by its pretenſions to infallibility, from having it in its power to do ſo.

Luther's perilous ſituation.

LUTHER's ſituation, meanwhile, was ſuch as would have filled any other perſon with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He could not expect that a prince ſo prudent and cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, ſet at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power, which had cruſhed ſome of the moſt powerful of the German Emperors. He knew what veneration was paid, at that time, to eccleſiaſtical deciſions; what terror eccleſiaſtical cenſures carried along with them, and how eaſily theſe

[t] Sleid. Hiſt. p. 10. Luth. Oper. i. 172. [u] Luth. Oper. i. 161.

Book II. 1520. theſe might intimidate and ſhake a prince, who was rather his protector from policy, than his diſciple from conviction. If he ſhould be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no proſpect of any other aſylum, and muſt ſtand expoſed to whatever puniſhment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though ſenſible of his danger, he diſcovered no ſymptoms of timidity or remiſſneſs, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh againſt thoſe of his adverſaries with more vehemence than ever [x].

He appeals to a general council.

But as every ſtep taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular ſentence by which he had been ſo precipitately declared a heretick, convinced Luther that Leo would ſoon proceed to the moſt violent meaſures againſt him, he had recourſe to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal cenſures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the repreſentative of the catholic church, and ſuperior in power to the Pope, who being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the moſt perfect of his predeceſſors, had erred [y].

A new bull in favour of Indulgences

It ſoon appeared, that Luther had not formed raſh conjectures concerning the intentions of the Romiſh church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was iſſued by the Pope, in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of Indulgences, in terms as extravagant as any of his predeceſſors had ventured to uſe in the darkeſt ages; and without applying ſuch palliatives, or mentioning ſuch conceſſions, as the juncture ſeemed to call for, he required all Chriſtians to aſſent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the Catholic

[x] Seckend. p. 59. [y] Sleid. Hiſt. 12. Luth. Oper. i. 179.

Catholic church, and ſubjected thoſe who ſhould hold or teach any contrary opinion to the heavieſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Book II. 1520.

Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they conſidered as an unjuſtifiable effort of the Pope in order to preſerve that rich branch of his revenue, which aroſe from Indulgences, produced little effect. But, among the reſt of his countrymen, ſuch a clear deciſion of the ſovereign pontiff againſt him, and enforced by ſuch dreadful penalties, muſt have been attended with conſequences very fatal to his cauſe; if theſe had not been prevented in a great meaſure by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his intereſt prompted to ſupport the authority of the holy ſee. In conſequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws, devolved to the Elector of Saxony; and under the ſhelter of his friendly adminiſtration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were ſuffered, during the inter-regnum which preceded Charles's election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to ſome degree of ſtrength and firmneſs. At the ſame time, as the election of an Emperor was a point more intereſting to Leo than a theological controverſy, which he did not underſtand, and of which he could not foreſee the conſequences, he was ſo extremely ſolicitous not to irritate a Prince of ſuch conſiderable influence in the electoral college as Frederick, that he diſcovered a great unwillingneſs to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt Luther, which his adverſaries continually demanded with the moſt clamorous importunity.

Maximilian's death of advantage to Luther. Jan. 17. 1519.

To

Book II.

1520. Suſpenſion of proceedings againſt Luther.

To theſe political views of the Pope, as well as to his natural averſion from ſevere meaſures, was owing the ſuſpenſion of any further proceedings againſt Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negociations, however, in order to bring the matter to ſome amicable iſſue, were carried on during that ſpace. The manner in which theſe were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of obſerving the corruption of the court of Rome; its obſtinacy in adhering to eſtabliſhed errors; and its indifference about truth, however clearly propoſed, or ſtrongly proved, he began to utter ſome doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A public diſputation was held upon this important queſtion at Leipſick, between Luther and Eccius, one of his moſt learned and formidable antagoniſts; but it was as fruitleſs and indeciſive as ſuch ſcholaſtick combats uſually prove. Both parties boaſted of having obtained the victory; both were confirmed in their own opinions; and no progreſs was made towards deciding the point in controverſy [z].

He begins to call in queſtion the papal authority.

Reformation in Switzerland.

Nor did this ſpirit of mutiny againſt the doctrines and uſurpations of the Romiſh church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no leſs fierce, and occaſioned by the ſame cauſes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciſcans being entruſted with the promulgation of Indulgences in that country, executed their commiſſion with the ſame indiſcretion and rapaciouſneſs, which had rendered the Dominicans ſo odious in Germany. They proceeded, nevertheleſs, with uninterrupted ſucceſs till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himſelf in zeal and

[z] Luth. Oper. i. 199.

and intrepidity, ventured to oppoſe them; and being animated with a republican boldneſs, and free from thoſe reſtraints which ſubjection to the will of a prince impoſed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid ſteps to overturn the whole fabric of the eſtabliſhed religion [a]. The appearance of ſuch a vigorous auxiliary, and the progreſs which he made, was, at firſt, matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the univerſities of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cauſe of triumph to his adverſaries. Book II. 1520.

Luther's boldneſs, and progreſs

BUT the undaunted ſpirit of Luther acquired freſh vigour from every inſtance of oppoſition; and puſhing on his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to ſhake the firmeſt foundations on which the wealth or power of the church were eſtabliſhed. Leo came at laſt to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; ſeveral prelates of great wiſdom exclaimed no leſs than Luther's perſonal adverſaries againſt the Pope's unprecedented lenity in permitting an incorrigible heretic, who during three years had been endeavouring to ſubvert every thing ſacred and venerable, ſtill to remain within the boſom of the church; the dignity of the papal ſee rendered the moſt vigorous proceedings neceſſary; the new Emperor, it was hoped, would ſupport its authority; nor did it ſeem probable that the Elector of Saxony would ſo far forget his uſual caution, as to ſet himſelf in oppoſition to their united power. The college of Cardinals was often aſſembled, in order to prepare the ſentence with due deliberation, and the ableſt canoniſts

[a] Sleid. Hiſt. 22. Seckend. 59.

Book II. canoniſts were conſulted how it might be expreſſed with unexceptionable formality. At laſt, on the fifteenth of June, one thouſand five hundred and twenty, the bull, ſo fatal to the church of Rome, was iſſued. Forty-one propoſitions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, ſcandalous, and offenſive to pious ears; all perſons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; ſuch as had any of them in their cuſtody, are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himſelf, if he did not, within ſixty days, publickly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obſtinate heretic; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the deſtruction of his fleſh; and all ſecular princes are required, under pain of incurring the ſame cenſure, to ſeize his perſon, that he might be puniſhed as his crimes deſerved [b].

1520. Bull of excommunication publiſhed againſt him.

The effect of this in Germany,

THE publication of this bull in Germany, excited various paſſions in different places. Luther's adverſaries exulted, as if his party and opinions had been cruſhed at once by ſuch a deciſive blow. His followers, whoſe reverence for the papal authority daily diminiſhed, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In ſome cities, the people violently obſtructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the perſons who attempted to publiſh it were inſulted, and the bull itſelf torn in pieces, and trodden under foot [c].

and upon Luther. Nov. 17.

THIS ſentence, which he had for ſome time expected, did not diſconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council,

[b] Palavic. 27. Luth. Oper. i. 423. [c] Seckend. p. 116.

cil, he publiſhed remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now perſuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injuſtice in his proceedings againſt him, he boldly declared the Pope to be that man of ſin, or Anti-chriſt, whoſe appearance is foretold in the New Teſtament; he declaimed againſt his tyranny and uſurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Chriſtian princes to ſhake off ſuch an ignominious yoke; and boaſted of his own happineſs in being marked out as the object of eccleſiaſtical indignation, becauſe he had ventured to aſſert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expreſſions of contempt for the papal power to words alone; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, aſſembled all the profeſſors and ſtudents in the univerſity of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in preſence of a vaſt multitude of ſpectators, caſt the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in ſeveral cities of Germany. The manner in which he juſtified this action, was ſtill more offenſive than the action itſelf. Having collected from the canon law ſome of the moſt extravagant propoſitions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the Pope's power, as well as the ſubordination of all ſecular juriſdiction to his authority, he publiſhed theſe with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of ſuch tenets, and their evident tendency to ſubvert all civil government [d].

State of the Reformation when Charles arrived in Germany.

Such was the progreſs which Luther had made, and ſuch the ſtate of his party, when Charles arrived in Germany. No ſecular prince had

[d] Luth. Oper. ii. 316.

Book II. 1520.

had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions; no change in the eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip had been introduced; and no encroachments had been made upon the poſſeſſions or juriſdiction of the clergy; neither party had yet proceeded to action; and the controverſy, though conducted with great heat and paſſion on both ſides, was ſtill carried on with its proper weapons, with theſes, diſputations, and replies. A deep impreſſion, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient inſtitutions and doctrines was ſhaken; and the materials were already ſcattered which kindled into the combuſtion that ſoon ſpread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the Empire to Wittemberg; and under Luther himſelf Melancthon, Carloſtadius, and other maſters, then reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions, which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen, who liſtened to them with that fond attention, which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands [e].

Reflections upon the conduct of the court of Rome.

During the courſe of theſe tranſactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ableſt Pontiffs, neither formed its ſchemes with that profound ſagacity, nor executed them with that ſteady perſeverance, which had long rendered it the moſt perfect model of political wiſdom to the reſt of Europe. When Luther began to declaim againſt Indulgences, two different methods of treating him lay before the Pope; by adopting one of which the attempt, it is probable, might have been cruſhed, and by the other it might have been rendered innocent. If Luther's firſt departure from the doctrines of the church had inſtantly drawn upon him the weight

[e] Seckend. 59.

weight of its cenſures, the dread of theſe might have reſtrained the Elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from liſtening to his diſcourſes, or even might have overawed Luther himſelf; and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have been known to the world only for his honeſt but ill-timed effort to correct the corruptions of the Romiſh church. On the other hand, if the Pope had early teſtified ſome diſpleaſure with the vices and exceſſes of the friars who had been employed in publiſhing Indulgences; if he had forbidden the mentioning of controverted points in diſcourſes addreſſed to the people; if he had enjoined the diſputants on both ſides to be ſilent; if he had been careful not to riſque the credit of the church by defining articles which had hitherto been left undetermined, Luther would, probably, have ſtopt ſhort at his firſt diſcoveries: He would not have been forced in ſelf-defence to venture upon new ground, and the whole controverſy might poſſibly have died away inſenſibly; or being confined entirely to the ſchools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity of the Romiſh church, as that which the Franciſcans maintain with the Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits concerning the operations of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between theſe oppoſite ſyſtems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exaſperated, but not reſtrained. By a miſtaken exerciſe of lenity, time was given for his opinions to ſpread, but no progreſs made towards reconciling him to the church; and even the ſentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been deciſive, was delayed

Book II. layed ſo long, that it became at laſt ſcarcely an object of terror.

1520.

and upon the conduct of Luther.

Such a ſeries of errors in the meaſures of a court, ſeldom chargeable with miſtaking its own true intereſt, is not more aſtoniſhing than the wiſdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect ſtranger to the maxims of human prudence, and incapable, from the impetuoſity of his temper, of obſerving them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his diſcoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their ſucceſs, than if every ſtep he took had been preſcribed by the moſt artful policy. At the time when he ſet himſelf to oppoſe Tetzel, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at laſt he gloried in accompliſhing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any ſpecial revelation; he acquired it by induſtry and meditation, and his progreſs, of conſequence, was gradual. The doctrines of Popery are ſo cloſely connected, that the expoſing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the parts of that artificial fabrick were ſo linked together, that the pulling down of one looſened the foundation of the reſt, and rendered it more eaſy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning Indulgences, he was obliged to inquire into the true cauſe of our juſtification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, diſcovered to him by degrees the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the interceſſion of ſaints; the impiety of worſhipping them; the abuſes of auricular confeſſion; and the imaginary exiſtence of purgatory.

tory. The detection of ſo many errors, led him of courſe to conſider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the ſevere injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monaſtick vows, appeared to him the great ſources of their corruption. From thence, it was but one ſtep to call in queſtion the divine original of the papal power, which authorized and ſupported ſuch a ſyſtem of errors. As the unavoidable reſult of the whole, he diſclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, the deciſions of ſchoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only ſtandard of theological truth. To this gradual progreſs Luther owed his ſucceſs. His hearers were not ſhocked at firſt by any propoſition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from eſtabliſhed opinions. They were conducted inſenſibly from one doctrine to another. Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his diſcoveries. To the ſame cauſe was owing the inattention, and even indifference, with which Leo viewed Luther's firſt proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would at once have drawn upon Luther the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profeſs great reſpect for the Pope, and made repeated offers of ſubmiſſion to his deciſions, there ſeemed to be no reaſon for apprehending that he would prove the author of any deſperate revolt; and he was ſuffered to proceed ſtep by ſtep, in undermining the conſtitution of the church, until the remedy applied at laſt came too late to produce any effect.

Book II. 1520.

But whatever advantages Luther's cauſe derived either from the miſtakes of his adverſaries,

or

Book II. 1520.

or from his own good conduct, the ſudden progreſs and firm eſtabliſhment of his doctrines, muſt not be aſcribed to theſe alone. The ſame corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance. The ſame opinions which he now propagated, had been publiſhed in different places, and were ſupported by the ſame arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huſs in the fifteenth, had inveighed againſt the errors of Popery with great boldneſs, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in thoſe illiterate ages in which they flouriſhed. But all theſe premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of diſpelling the darkneſs which then covered the church, were ſoon extinguiſhed; and though the doctrines of theſe pious men produced ſome effects, and left ſome traces in the countries where they taught, they were neither extenſive nor conſiderable. Many powerful cauſes contributed to facilitate Luther's progreſs, which either did not exiſt, or did not operate with full force in their days; and at the critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumſtances of every kind concurred in rendering each ſtep that he took ſucceſsful.

An inquiry into the cauſes which contributed to the progreſs of the reformation.

The long ſchiſm in the fourteenth century.

THE long and ſcandalous ſchiſm which divided the church, during the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminiſhing the veneration with which the world had been accuſtomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending Pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time; fawning on the Princes whom they wanted

wanted to gain; ſqueezing the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicating their rivals, and curſing thoſe who adhered to them, diſcredited their pretenſions to infallibility, and expoſed both their perſons and their office to contempt. The laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that ſome right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exerciſe of it ſo far as to chuſe, among theſe infallible guides, whom they would pleaſe to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, ſpread this diſreſpect for the Romiſh ſee ſtill wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in depoſing and electing Popes, taught the world that there was in the church a juriſdiction ſuperior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be ſupreme.

1520.

The wound given on that occaſion to the papal authority was ſcarcely healed up, when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but deteſtable eccleſiaſticks, raiſed new ſcandal in Chriſtendom. The profligate morals of the former in private life; the fraud, the injuſtice and cruelty of his publick adminiſtration, place him on a level with thoſe tyrants, whoſe deeds are the greateſt reproach to human nature. The latter, though a ſtranger to the odious paſſions which prompted his predeceſſor to commit ſo many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a reſtleſs and ungovernable ambition, which ſcorned all conſiderations of gratitude, of decency, or of juſtice, when they obſtructed the execution of his ſchemes. It was hardly poſſible, to be firmly perſuaded that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whoſe chief precepts are purity and humility, was depoſited in the breaſts of the

The pontificates of Alexander VI. and of Julius II.

Book II. impious Alexander, or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of thoſe who exalted the authority of a council above that of the Pope, ſpread wonderfully under their pontificates: And as the Emperor and French Kings, who were alternately engaged in hoſtilities with thoſe active Pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their ſubjects to expoſe their vices with all the violence of invective, all the petulance of ridicule, men's ears being accuſtomed to theſe, were not ſhocked with the bold or ludicrous diſcourſes of Luther and his followers concerning the papal dignity.

1520.

The immoral lives of the clergy.

Nor were ſuch exceſſes confined to the head of the church alone. Many of the dignified clergy, ſecular as well as regular, being the younger ſons of noble families, who had aſſumed the eccleſiaſtical character for no other reaſon but that they found in the church ſtations of great dignity and affluence, were accuſtomed totally to neglect the duties of their office, and indulged themſelves without reſerve in all the vices to which great wealth and idleneſs naturally give birth. Though the inferior clergy were prevented by their poverty from imitating the expenſive luxury of their ſuperiors, yet groſs ignorance and low debauchery rendered them as contemptible as the other were odious [f]. The ſevere

[f] The corrupt ſtate of the church prior to the Reformation, is acknowledged by an author, who was both abundantly able to judge concerning this matter, and who was not overforward to confeſs it. "For ſome years (ſays Bellarmine) before the Lutheran and Calviniſtick hereſies were publiſhed, there was not (as contemporary authors teſtify) any ſeverity in eccleſiaſtical judicatories, any diſcipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of ſacred literature, any reverence for divine things, there was not almoſt any religion remaining." Bellarmin. Concio. xxviii. Oper.

ſevere and unnatural law of celibacy, to which both were equally ſubject, occaſioned ſuch irregularities, that in ſeveral parts of Europe the concubinage of prieſts was not only permitted, but enjoined. The employing of a remedy ſo contrary to the genius of the Chriſtian religion, is the ſtrongeſt proof that the crimes it was intended to prevent were both numerous and flagrant. Long before the ſixteenth century, many authors of great name and authority give ſuch deſcriptions of the diſſolute morals of the clergy, as ſeem almoſt incredible in the preſent age [g]. The voluptuous lives of eccleſiaſticks occaſioned

1520.

Oper. tom. vi. col. 296. edit Colon. 1617. apud Gerdeſii Hiſt. Evan. Renovati, vol. i. p. 25.

[g] Centum Gravamina Nationiſ. German. in Faſciculo Rer. Expetend. & Fugiendarum, per Ortuinum Gratium, vol. i. 361. See innumerable paſſages to the ſame purpoſe in the appendix, or ſecond volume, publiſhed by Edw. Brown. See alſo Herm. Vonder Hardt, Hiſt. Lit. Reform. pars iii. and the vaſt collections of Walchius in his four volumes of Monumenta medii ævi. Gotting. 1757.

The authors I have quoted enumerate the vices of the clergy. When they ventured upon actions manifeſtly criminal, we may conclude that they would be leſs ſcrupulous with reſpect to the decorum of behaviour. Accordingly their neglect of the decent conduct ſuitable to their profeſſion, ſeems to have given great offence. In order to illuſtrate this, I ſhall tranſcribe one paſſage, becauſe it is taken not from any author whoſe profeſſed purpoſe it was to deſcribe the improper conduct of the clergy; and who, from prejudice or artifice, may be ſuppoſed to aggravate the charge againſt them. The Emperor Charles IV. in a letter to the archbiſhop of Mentz, A. D. 1359, exhorting him to reform the diſorders of the clergy, thus expreſſes himſelf: "De Chriſti patrimonio, ludos, haſtiludia & torneamenta exercent; habitum militarem cum prætextis aureis & argenteis geſtant, & calceos militares; comam & barbam nutriunt, & nihil quod ad vitam & ordinem eccleſiaſticum ſpectat, oſtendunt. Militaribus ſe duntaxat & ſecularibus actibus, vita & moribus, in ſuæ ſalutis diſpendium, & generale populi ſcandalum, immiſcent." Codex Diplomaticus Anecdotorum, per Val. Ferd. Gudenum, 4to. vol. iii. p. 438.

Book II. occaſioned great ſcandal, not only becauſe their manners were inconſiſtent with their ſacred character; but the laity being accuſtomed to ſee ſeveral of them raiſed from the loweſt ſtations to the greateſt affluence, did not ſhew the ſame indulgence to their exceſſes, as to thoſe of perſons poſſeſſed of hereditary wealth or grandeur; and viewing their condition with more envy, they cenſured their crimes with greater ſeverity. Nothing, therefore, could be more acceptable to Luther's hearers, than the violence with which he exclaimed againſt the immoralities of churchmen, and every perſon in his audience could, from his own obſervation, confirm the truth of his invectives.

1520.

The facility with which theſe immoralities were pardoned.

THE ſcandal of theſe crimes was greatly increaſed by the facility with which ſuch as committed them, obtained pardon. In all the European kingdoms, the impotence of the civil magiſtrate, under forms of government extremely irregular and turbulent, made it neceſſary to relax the rigour of juſtice, and upon payment of a certain fine or compoſition preſcribed by law, judges were accuſtomed to remit farther puniſhment, even of the moſt atrocious crimes. The court of Rome, always attentive to the means of augmenting its revenues, imitated this practice, and by a prepoſterous accommodation of it to religious concerns, granted its pardons to ſuch tranſgreſſors as gave a ſum of money in order to purchaſe them. As the idea of a compoſition for crimes was then familiar, this ſtrange traffick was ſo far from ſhocking mankind, that it ſoon became general; and in order to prevent any impoſition in carrying it on, the officers of the Roman chancery publiſhed a book, containing the preciſe ſum to be exacted

exacted for the pardon of every particular ſin. A deacon guilty of murder was abſolved for twenty crowns. A biſhop or abbot might aſſaſſinate for three hundred livres. Any eccleſiaſtick might violate his vows of chaſtity, even with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, for the third part of that ſum. Even ſuch ſhocking crimes, as occur ſeldom in human life, and perhaps exiſt only in the impure imagination of a caſuiſt, were taxed at a very moderate rate. When a more regular and perfect mode of diſpenſing juſtice came to be introduced into civil courts, the practice of paying a compoſition for crimes went gradually into diſuſe; and mankind having acquired more accurate notions concerning religion and morality, the conditions on which the court of Rome beſtowed its pardons appeared impious, and were conſidered as one great ſource of eccleſiaſtical corruption [h].

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The exorbitant wealth of the church,

THIS degeneracy of manners among the clergy might have been tolerated perhaps, with greater indulgence, if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them, at the ſame time, to oppreſs all other orders of men. It is the genius of ſuperſtition, fond of whatever is pompous or grand, to ſet no bounds to its liberality towards perſons whom it eſteems ſacred, and to think its expreſſions of regard defective unleſs it hath raiſed them to the heighth of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extenſive revenues and juriſdiction poſſeſſed by the church in every country of Europe, and which were become intolerable to the laity from whoſe undiſcerning bounty they were at firſt derived.

THE

[h] Faſcicul. Rer. Expet. & Fug. 1. 355. J. G. Schelhornii Amænit. Literar. Francof. 1725, vol. ii. 369. Diction. de Bayle, Artic. Banck & Tuppius. Taxa Cancellar. Romanæ, Edit. Francof. 1651. paſſim.

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THE burden, however, of eccleſiaſtical oppreſſion had fallen with ſuch peculiar weight on the Germans, as rendered them, though naturally exempt from levity, and tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, more inclinable than any people in Europe to liſten to thoſe who called on them to aſſert their liberty. During the long conteſts between the Popes and Emperors concerning the right of inveſtiture, and the wars which theſe occaſioned, moſt of the conſiderable German eccleſiaſticks joined the papal faction; and while engaged in rebellion againſt the head of the Empire, they ſeized the Imperial revenues, and uſurped the Imperial juriſdiction within their own dioceſes. Upon the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, they ſtill retained theſe uſurpations, as if by the length of an unjuſt poſſeſſion they had acquired a legal right to them. The Emperors, too feeble to wreſt them out of their hands, were obliged to grant the clergy fiefs of thoſe vaſt territories, and they enjoyed all the immunities as well as honours which belonged to feudal barons. By means of theſe, many biſhops and abbots in Germany were not only eccleſiaſticks, but princes, and their character and manners partook more of the licence, too frequent among the latter, than of the ſanctity which became the former [i].

where the clergy uſurped a great part of the property.

THE unſettled ſtate of government in Germany, and the frequent wars to which that country was expoſed, contributed in another manner towards aggrandizing eccleſiaſticks. The only property, during thoſe times of anarchy, which enjoyed ſecurity from the oppreſſion of the great, or the ravages of war, was that which belonged to the church. This was owing, not

[i] F. Paul, Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſt. Benefices, p. 107.

not only to the great reverence for the ſacred character prevalent in thoſe ages, but to a ſuperſtitious dread of the ſentence of excommunication, which the clergy were ready to denounce againſt all who invaded their poſſeſſions. Many obſerving this, made a ſurrender of their lands to eccleſiaſticks, and conſenting to hold them in fee of the church, obtained as its vaſſals a degree of ſafety, which without this device they were unable to procure. By ſuch an increaſe of the number of their vaſſals, the power of eccleſiaſticks received a real and permanent augmentation; and as lands, held in fee by the limited tenures common in thoſe ages, often returned to the perſons on whom the fief depended, conſiderable additions were made in this way to the property of the clergy [k].

The vaſt perſonal immunities of eccleſiaſticks.

The ſolicitude of the clergy in providing for the ſafety of their own perſons, was ſtill greater than that which they diſplayed in ſecuring their poſſeſſions; and their efforts to attain it were ſtill more ſucceſsful. As they were conſecrated to the prieſtly office with much outward ſolemnity; were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind by a peculiar garb and manner of life; and arrogated to their order many privileges which do not belong to other Chriſtians, they naturally became the objects of exceſſive veneration. As a ſuperſtitious ſpirit ſpread, they were regarded as beings of a ſuperior ſpecies to the profane laity, whom it would be impious to try by the ſame laws, or to ſubject to the ſame puniſhments. This exemption from civil juriſdiction, granted at firſt to eccleſiaſticks, as a mark of reſpect, they ſoon claimed as a point of

[k] F. Paul, Hiſt. of Eccleſ. Benef. p. 66. Boulainvilliers, Etat. de France, tom. i. 169. Lond. 1737.

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of right. This valuable immunity of the prieſthood is aſſerted, not only in the decrees of Popes and councils, but was confirmed in the moſt ample form by many of the greateſt Emperors [l]. As long as the clerical character remained, the perſon of an eccleſiaſtick was ſacred; and unleſs he were degraded from his office, the unhallowed hand of the civil judge durſt not touch him. But as the power of degradation was lodged in the ſpiritual courts, the difficulty and expence of obtaining ſuch a ſentence, too often ſecured abſolute impunity to offenders. Many aſſumed the clerical character for no other reaſon, than that it might ſcreen them from the puniſhment which their actions deſerved [m]. The German nobles complained loudly, that theſe anointed malefactors, as they call them [n], ſeldom ſuffered capitally, even for the moſt atrocious crimes; and their independence on the civil magiſtrate is often mentioned in the remonſtrances of the diets, as a privilege equally pernicious to ſociety, and to the morals of the clergy.

Their encroachments on the juriſdiction of the laity.

WHILE the clergy aſſerted the privileges of their own order with ſo much zeal, they made continual encroachments upon thoſe of the laity. All cauſes relative to matrimony, to teſtaments, to uſury, to legitimacy of birth, as well as thoſe which concerned eccleſiaſtical revenues, were thought to be ſo connected with religion, that they could be tried only in the ſpiritual courts. Not ſatisfied with this ample juriſdiction, which extended to one half of the ſubjects which give riſe to litigation among men, the clergy, with wonderful

[l] Goldaſti Conſtitut. Imperial Francof. 1673. vol. ii. 92, 107. [m] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xxxiii. 532.
[n] Centum Gravam. § 31.

wonderful induſtry, and by a thouſand inventions, endeavoured to draw all other cauſes into their own courts [o]. As they had engroſſed the whole learning known in the dark ages, the ſpiritual judges were commonly ſo far ſuperior in knowledge and abilities to thoſe employed in the ſecular courts, that the people at firſt favoured any ſtretch that was made to bring their affairs under the cognizance of a judicature, on the deciſions of which they could rely with more perfect confidence. Thus the intereſt of the church, and the inclination of the people, concurring to elude the juriſdiction of the lay-magiſtrate, ſoon reduced it almoſt to nothing [p]. By means of this, vaſt power accrued to eccleſiaſticks, and no inconſiderable addition was made to their revenue by the ſums paid in thoſe ages to ſuch as adminiſtered juſtice.

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THE penalty by which the ſpiritual courts enforced their ſentences, added great weight and terror to their juriſdiction. The cenſure of excommunication was inſtituted originally for preſerving the purity of the church; that obſtinate offenders, whoſe impious tenets or profane lives were a reproach to Chriſtianity, might be cut off from the ſociety of the faithful: This, eccleſiaſticks did not ſcruple to convert into an engine for promoting their own power, and inflicted it on the moſt frivolous occaſions. Whoever deſpiſed any of their deciſions, even concerning civil matters, immediately incurred this dreadful cenſure, which not only excluded them from all the privileges of a Chriſtian, but deprived them of their rights as men and citizens [q]; and the dread

The dreadful effects of ſpiritual cenſures.

[o] Giannonè Hiſt. of Naples, book xix. § 3. [p] Centum Gravam. § 9, 56, 64. [q] Ibid. § 34.

Book II. 1520. dread of this rendered even the moſt fierce and turbulent ſpirits obſequious to the authority of the church.

The devices of eccleſiaſticks to ſecure their uſurpations.

Nor did the clergy neglect the proper methods of preſerving the wealth and power which they had acquired with ſuch induſtry and addreſs. The poſſeſſions of the church, being conſecrated to God, were declared to be unalienable; ſo that the funds of a ſociety which was daily gaining, and could never loſe, grew to be immenſe. In Germany, it was computed that the eccleſiaſticks had got into their hands more than one half of the national property [r]. In other countries, the proportion varied; but the ſhare belonging to the church was every where prodigious. Theſe vaſt poſſeſſions were not ſubject to the burdens impoſed on the lands of the laity. The German clergy were exempted by law from all taxes [s]; and if, on any extraordinary emergence, eccleſiaſticks were pleaſed to grant ſome aid towards ſupplying the publick exigencies, this was conſidered as a free gift flowing from their own generoſity, which the civil magiſtrate had no title to demand, far leſs to exact. In conſequence of this ſtrange ſoleciſm in government, the laity in Germany had the mortification to find themſelves loaded with exceſſive impoſitions, becauſe ſuch as poſſeſſed the greateſt property were freed from any obligation to ſupport, or to defend the ſtate.

The German eccleſiaſticks moſtly foreigners.

Grievous, however, as the exorbitant wealth and numerous privileges of the clerical order were to the other members of the Germanick body,

[r] Centum Gravam. § 28. [s] Ibid. Goldaſti Conſt. Imper. ii. 79. 108. Pfeffel Hiſt. du Droit Publ. 350. 374.

body, they would have reckoned it ſome mitigation of the evil, if theſe had been poſſeſſed only by eccleſiaſticks reſiding among themſelves, who would have been leſs apt to make an improper uſe of their riches, or to exerciſe their rights with unbecoming rigour. But the biſhops of Rome having early put in a claim, the boldeſt that ever human ambition ſuggeſted, of being ſupreme and infallible heads of the Chriſtian church; they, by their profound policy and unwearied perſeverance, by their addreſs in availing themſelves of every circumſtance which occurred, by taking advantage of the ſuperſtition of ſome Princes, of the neceſſities of others, and of the credulity of the people, at length eſtabliſhed their pretenſions, in oppoſition both to the intereſt and common ſenſe of mankind. Germany was the country which theſe eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns governed with moſt abſolute authority. They excommunicated and depoſed ſome of its moſt illuſtrious Emperors, and excited their ſubjects, their miniſters, and even their children, to take arms againſt them. Amidſt theſe conteſts, the Popes continually extended their own immunities, ſpoiling the ſecular Princes gradually of their moſt valuable prerogatives, and the German church felt all the rigour of that oppreſſion which flows from ſubjection to foreign dominion, and foreign exactions.

Nominated by the Pope.

THE right of conferring benefices, which the Popes uſurped during that period of confuſion, was an acquiſition of great importance, and exalted the eccleſiaſtical power upon the ruins of the temporal. The Emperors and other princes of Germany had long been in poſſeſſion of this right, which ſerved to increaſe both their authority and their revenue. But by wreſting

it

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it out of their hands, the Popes were enabled to fill the Empire with their own creatures; they accuſtomed a great body of every prince's ſubjects to depend not upon him but upon the Roman ſee; they beſtowed upon ſtrangers the richeſt benefices in every country, and drained their wealth to ſupply the luxury of a foreign court. Even the patience of the moſt ſuperſtitious ages mutinied under ſuch oppreſſion; and ſo loud and frequent were the complaints and murmurs of the Germans, that the Popes, afraid of irritating them too far, conſented, contrary to their uſual practice, to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, and to reſt ſatisfied with the right of nomination to ſuch benefices as happened to fall vacant during ſix months in the year, leaving the diſpoſal of the remainder to the princes and other legal patrons [t].

The expedients for reſtraining this power of the Pope's ineffectual.

But the court of Rome eaſily found expedients for eluding an agreement which put ſuch reſtraints on its power. The practice of reſerving certain benefices in every country to the Pope's immediate nomination, which had been long known, and often complained of, was extended far beyond its ancient bounds. All the benefices poſſeſſed by Cardinals, or any of the numerous officers in the Roman court; thoſe held by perſons who happened to die at Rome, or within forty miles of that city on their journey to or from it; thoſe which became vacant by tranſlation, with many others, were included in the number of *reſerved* benefices; Julius II. and Leo, ſtretching the matter to the utmoſt, often collated to benefices where the right of reſervation had not been declared, on pretence of having

[t] F. Paul, Hiſt. of Eccleſ. Benef. 204. Gold. Conſtit. Imper. i. 408.

ing mentally reſerved this privilege to themſelves. The right of reſervation, however, even with this extenſion, had certain limits, as it could be exerciſed only where the benefice was actually vacant; and therefore, in order to render the exertion of papal power unbounded, *expectative graces*, or mandates nominating a perſon to ſucceed to a benefice upon the firſt vacancy that ſhould happen, were brought into uſe. By means of theſe, Germany was filled with perſons depending on the court of Rome, from which they received ſuch reverſionary grants; princes were defrauded, in a great degree, of their prerogatives; the rights of lay-patrons were pre-occupied, and rendered almoſt entirely vain [u].

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Venality of the court of Rome.

THE manner in which theſe extraordinary powers were exerciſed, rendered them ſtill more odious and intolerable. The avarice and extortion of the court of Rome, were become exceſſive almoſt to a proverb. The ſale of benefices was ſo notorious, that no pains were taken to conceal, or to diſguiſe it. Companies of merchants openly purchaſed the benefices of different diſtricts in Germany from the Pope's miniſters, and retailed them at an advanced price [x]. Pious men beheld with deep regret theſe ſimoniacal tranſactions, ſo unworthy the miniſters of a Chriſtian church; while politicians complained of the loſs ſuſtained by the exportation of ſo much wealth in that irreligious traffick.

THE

[u] Centum Gravam. § 21. Faſcic. Rer. Expet. &c. 334. Gold. Conſt. Imper. i. 391, 404, 405. F. Paul, Hiſt. of Eccl. Benef. 167, 199. [x] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. i. 359.

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It drained other countries of their wealth.

The ſums, indeed, which the court of Rome drew by its ſtated and legal impoſitions from all the countries acknowledging its authority, were ſo conſiderable, that it is not ſtrange that Princes, as well as their ſubjects, murmured at the ſmalleſt addition made to them by unneceſſary or illicit means. Every eccleſiaſtical perſon, upon his admiſſion to his benefice, paid *annats*, or one year's rent of his living, to the Pope; and as that tax was exacted with great rigour, its amount was prodigious. To this muſt be added, the frequent demands made by the Popes of free gifts from the clergy, together with the extraordinary levies of tenths upon eccleſiaſtical benefices, on pretence of expeditions againſt the Turks, ſeldom intended, or carried into execution; and from the whole, the vaſt proportion of the revenues of the church, which flowed continually to Rome, may be eſtimated.

The united effect of all theſe cauſes.

Such were the diſſolute manners, the exorbitant wealth, the vaſt power and privileges of the clergy before the Reformation; ſuch the oppreſſive rigour of that dominion which the Popes had eſtabliſhed over the Chriſtian world; and ſuch the ſentiments concerning them that prevailed in Germany at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Nor has this ſketch been copied from the controverſial writers of that age, who, in the heat of diſputation, may be ſuſpected of having exaggerated the errors, or of having miſrepreſented the conduct of that church which they laboured to overturn; it is formed upon more authentic evidence, upon the memorials and remonſtrances of the Imperial diets, coolly enumerating the grievances under which the Empire groaned, in order to obtain the redreſs of them. Diſſatisfaction muſt have riſen to a great height among the people, when theſe grave aſſemblies expreſſed

expreſſed themſelves with ſuch acrimony; and if they demanded the abolition of thoſe enormities with ſo much vehemence, the people, we may be aſſured, uttered their ſentiments and deſires in bolder and more virulent language. Book II. 1520.

Men prepared to embrace Luther's opinions,

To men thus prepared for ſhaking off the yoke, Luther addreſſed himſelf with certainty of ſucceſs. As they had long felt its weight, and had borne it with impatience, they liſtened with joy to the firſt propoſal for procuring deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception that his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they ſpread over all the provinces of Germany. Even the impetuoſity and fierceneſs of Luther's ſpirit, his confidence in aſſerting his own opinions, and the arrogance as well as contempt wherewith he treated all who differed from him, which, in ages of greater moderation and refinement, have been reckoned defects in the character of that reformer, did not appear exceſſive to his contemporaries, whoſe minds were ſtrongly agitated by thoſe intereſting controverſies which he carried on, and who had themſelves endured the rigour of papal tyranny, and ſeen the corruptions in the church againſt which he exclaimed.

and to tolerate his defects.

Nor were they offended at that groſs ſcurrility with which his polemical writings are filled, or at the low buffoonery which he ſometimes introduces into his graveſt diſcourſes. No diſpute was managed in thoſe rude times without a large portion of the former; and the latter was common, even on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and in treating the moſt ſacred ſubjects. So far were either of theſe from doing hurt to his cauſe, that invective and ridicule had ſome effect, as well as more laudable arguments, in expoſing

Book II. 1520. expoſing the errors of popery, and in determining mankind to abandon them.

The effect of the invention of printing on the progreſs of the Reformation:

BESIDE all theſe cauſes of Luther's rapid progreſs, ariſing from the nature of his enterprize, and the juncture at which he undertook it, he reaped advantage from ſome foreign and adventitious circumſtances, the beneficial influence of which none of his forerunners in the ſame courſe had enjoyed. Among theſe may be reckoned the invention of the art of printing, about half a century before his time. By this fortunate diſcovery, the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge was wonderfully increaſed, and Luther's books, which muſt otherwiſe have made their way ſlowly and with uncertainty into diſtant countries, ſpread at once all over Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had acceſs to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people, who, upon this appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and to reject many doctrines, which they had formerly been required to believe, without being taught to underſtand them.

And of the revival of learning.

THE revival of learning at the ſame period, was a circumſtance extremely friendly to the Reformation. The ſtudy of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, and the diſcovery of that liberal and ſound knowledge which they contain, rouzed the human mind from the profound lethargy in which it had been ſunk during ſeveral centuries. Mankind ſeem, at that period, to have recovered the powers of inquiring and of thinking, faculties of which they had long loſt the uſe; and fond of the acquiſition, they exerciſed them with great boldneſs upon all ſubjects. They were not now afraid of entering an uncommon

common path, or of embracing a new opinion. Novelty appears rather to have been a recommendation of a doctrine; and inſtead of being ſtartled when the daring hand of Luther drew aſide, or tore the veil which covered eſtabliſhed errors, the genius of the age applauded and aided the attempt. Luther, though a ſtranger to elegance in taſte or compoſition, zealouſly promoted the cultivation of ancient literature; and ſenſible of its being neceſſary in ſtudying the ſcriptures, he himſelf had acquired conſiderable knowledge both in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. Melancthon, and ſome other of his diſciples, were eminent proficients in the polite arts; and as the ſame barbarous monks, who oppoſed the introduction of learning into Germany, ſet themſelves with equal fierceneſs againſt Luther's opinions, and declared the good reception of the latter to be the effect of the progreſs which the former had made, the cauſe of learning and of the Reformation came to be conſidered as cloſely connected, and, in every country, had the ſame friends and the ſame enemies. This enabled the reformers to carry on the conteſt at firſt with great ſuperiority. Erudition, induſtry, accuracy of ſentiment, purity of compoſition, even wit and raillery, were wholly on their ſide, and triumphed with eaſe over illiterate monks, whoſe rude arguments, expreſſed in a perplexed and barbarous ſtyle, were found inſufficient for the defence of a ſyſtem, the errors of which, all the art and ingenuity of its later and more learned advocates have not been able to palliate.

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THAT bold ſpirit of inquiry, which the revival of learning excited in Europe, was ſo favourable to the Reformation, that Luther was aided in his progreſs, and mankind were prepared to

Luther aided by perſons who did not with his ſucceſs.

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embrace his doctrines, by perſons who did not wiſh ſucceſs to his undertaking. The greater part of the ingenious men who applied to the ſtudy of ancient literature, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the ſixteenth, though they had no intention, and perhaps no wiſh, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion, had diſcovered the abſurdity of many tenets and practices authorized by the church, and perceived the futility of thoſe arguments, by which illiterate monks endeavoured to defend them. Their contempt of theſe advocates for the received errors, led them frequently to expoſe the opinions which they ſupported, and to ridicule their ignorance with great freedom and ſeverity. By this, men were prepared for the more ſerious attacks made upon them by Luther, and their reverence both for the doctrines and perſons againſt whom he inveighed, was conſiderably abated. This was particularly the caſe in Germany. When the firſt attempts were made to revive a taſte for ancient learning in that country, the Eccleſiaſticks there, who were ſtill more ignorant than their brethren on the other ſide of the Alps, ſet themſelves to oppoſe its progreſs with more active zeal; and the patrons of the new ſtudies, in return, attacked them with greater violence. In the writings of Reuchlin, Hutten, and the other revivers of learning in Germany, the corruptions of the church of Rome are cenſured with an acrimony of ſtyle, little inferior to that of Luther himſelf [y].

Particularly Eraſmus.

FROM the ſame cauſe proceeded the frequent ſtrictures of Eraſmus upon the errors of the church,

y Gerdeſius Hiſt. Evang. Renov. vol. i. p. 141. 157. Seckend. lib. i. p. 103. Vonder Hardt. Hiſt. Literar. Reform. pars ii.

church, as well as upon the ignorance and vices of the clergy. His reputation and authority were ſo high in Europe at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and his works were read with ſuch univerſal admiration, that the effect of theſe deſerves to be mentioned as one of the circumſtances which contributed moſt conſiderably towards Luther's ſucceſs. Eraſmus, having been deſtined for the church, and trained up in the knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical literature, applied himſelf more to theological inquiries than any of the revivers of learning in that age. His acute judgment and vaſt erudition enabled him to diſcover many errors, both in the doctrine and worſhip of the Romiſh church. Some of theſe he confuted with great ſolidity of reaſoning, and force of eloquence. Others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned againſt them that irreſiſtible torrent of popular and ſatirical wit, of which he had the command. There was ſcarcely any opinion or practice of the Romiſh church which Luther endeavoured to reform, but what had been previouſly animadverted upon by Eraſmus, and had afforded him ſubject either of cenſure or of raillery. When Luther firſt began his attack upon the church, Eraſmus ſeemed to applaud his conduct; he courted the friendſhip of ſeveral of his diſciples and patrons, and condemned the behaviour and ſpirit of his adverſaries [z]. He concurred openly with him in inveighing againſt the ſchool divines, as the teachers of a ſyſtem equally unedifying and obſcure. He joined him in endeavouring to turn the attention of men to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, as the only ſtandard of religious truth [a].

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[z] Seckend. lib. i. p. 40. 96. [a] Vonder Hardt. Hiſtor. Literar. Reform. pars i. Gerdeſ. Hiſt. Evang. Renov. i. 147.

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VARIOUS circumſtances, however, prevented Eraſmus from holding the ſame courſe with Luther. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that force of mind which alone can prompt a man to aſſume the character of a reformer [b]; his exceſſive deference for perſons in high ſtation; his dread of loſing the penſions and other emoluments which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuſes gradually, and by gentle methods; all concurred in determining him not only to repreſs and to moderate the zeal, with which he had once been animated againſt the errors of the church [c], but to aſſume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents. But though Eraſmus ſoon began to cenſure Luther as too daring and impetuous, and was at laſt prevailed upon to write againſt him, he muſt, nevertheleſs, be conſidered as his forerunner and auxiliary in this war upon the church. He firſt ſcattered the ſeeds, which Luther cheriſhed and brought to maturity. His raillery and oblique cenſures prepared the way for Luther's invectives and more direct attacks. In this light Eraſmus appeared to the zealous defenders of the Romiſh church in his own times [d]. In this light he muſt be conſidered by every perſon converſant in the hiſtory of that period.

IN

[b] Eraſmus himſelf is candid enough to acknowledge this: "Luther," ſays he, "has given us many a wholeſome doctrine, and many a good counſel. I wiſh he had not defeated the effect of them by intolerable faults. But if he had written every thing in the moſt unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the ſake of truth. Every man hath not the courage requiſite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I ſhould imitate St. Peter." Epiſt. Eraſmi in Jortin's Life of Eraſm. vol. i. p. 273.

[c] Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 258.

[d] Vonder Hardt. Hiſt. Literar. Reform. pars i. p. 2.

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In this long enumeration of the circumſtances which combined in favouring the progreſs of Luther's opinions, or in weakening the reſiſtance of his adverſaries, I have avoided entering into any diſcuſſion of the theological doctrines of popery, and have not attempted to ſhew how repugnant they are to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and how deſtitute of any foundation in reaſon, in the word of God, or in the practice of the primitive church, leaving theſe topics entirely to eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, to whoſe province they peculiarly belong. But when we add the effect of theſe religious conſiderations to the influence of political cauſes, it is obvious that the united operation of both on the human mind, muſt have been ſudden and irreſiſtible. Though, to Luther's contemporaries, who were too near perhaps to the ſcene, or too deeply intereſted in it, to trace cauſes with accuracy, or to examine them with coolneſs, the rapidity with which his opinions ſpread, appeared to be ſo unaccountable, that ſome of them imputed it to a certain uncommon and malignant poſition of the ſtars, which ſcattered the ſpirit of giddineſs and innovation over the world [e]. It is evident, that the ſucceſs of the Reformation was the natural effect of many powerful cauſes prepared by peculiar providence, and happily conſpiring to that end. This attempt to inveſtigate theſe cauſes, and to throw light on an event ſo ſingular and important, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unneceſſary digreſſion.——I return from it to the courſe of the hiſtory.

Proceedings of the diet at Worms. 1521.

The Diet at Worms conducted its deliberations with that ſlow formality peculiar to ſuch aſſemblies. Much time was ſpent in eſtabliſhing

[e] Jovii Hiſtoria, Lut. 1553. fol. p. 134.

Book II. 1521. ing ſome regulations with regard to the internal police of the Empire. The juriſdiction of the Imperial chamber was confirmed, and the forms of its proceeding rendered more fixed and regular. A council of regency was appointed to aſſiſt Ferdinand in the government of the Empire during his brother's abſence; which, from the extent of the Emperor's dominions, as well as the multiplicity of his affairs, was an event that might be frequently expected [f]. The ſtate of religion was then taken into conſideration. There were not wanting ſome plauſible reaſons which might have induced Charles to have declared himſelf the protector of Luther's cauſe, or at leaſt to have connived at its progreſs. If he had poſſeſſed no other dominions but thoſe which belonged to him in Germany, and no other crown beſides the Imperial, he might have been diſpoſed perhaps to favour a man, who aſſerted ſo boldly the privileges and immunities for which the Empire had ſtruggled ſo long with the Popes. But the vaſt and dangerous ſchemes which Francis I. was forming againſt Charles, made it neceſſary for him to regulate his conduct by views more extenſive than thoſe which would have ſuited a German prince; and it being of the utmoſt importance to ſecure the Pope's friendſhip, this determined him to treat Luther with great ſeverity, as the moſt effectual method of ſoothing Leo into a concurrence with his meaſures. His eagerneſs to accompliſh this, rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who inſiſted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet ought to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated as

The Emperor's views with regard to Luther.

[f] Pont. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 195. Pfeffel Abregé Chronol. p. 598.

as an incorrigible heretick. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjuſt by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in perſon, and declaring whether he adhered or not to thoſe opinions, which had drawn upon him the cenſures of the church [g]. Not only the Emperor, but all the princes through whoſe territories he had to paſs, granted him a ſafe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the ſame time, requiring his immediate attendance on the diet, and renewing his promiſes of protection from any injury or violence [h]. Luther did not heſitate one moment about yielding obedience, and ſet out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the Emperor's letter and ſafe-conduct. While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huſs, under ſimilar circumſtances, and notwithſtanding the ſame ſecurity of an Imperial ſafe-conduct, filled with ſolicitude, adviſed and intreated him not to ruſh wantonly into the midſt of danger. But Luther, ſuperior to ſuch terrors, ſilenced them with this reply, "I am lawfully called," ſaid he, "to appear in that city, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houſes, were there combined againſt me [i]."

1521.

He is ſummoned to appear.

March 6.

His undaunted ſpirit.

His reception at Worms.

THE reception which he met at Worms, was ſuch as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applauſe had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds aſſembled to behold him, than had appeared at the Emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and perſonages of the higheſt rank,

[g] P. Mart. E p. 722. [h] Luth. Oper. ii. 411.
[i] Luth. Oper. ii. 412.

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rank [k], and he was treated with all the reſpect paid to thoſe who poſſeſs the power of directing the underſtanding and ſentiments of other men; an homage, more ſincere, as well as more flattering, than any which preeminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency, and with equal firmneſs. He readily acknowledged an exceſs of vehemence and acrimony in his controverſial writings, but refuſed to retract his opinions unleſs he were convinced of their falſehood; or to conſent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor intreaties could prevail on him to depart from this reſolution, ſome of the eccleſiaſticks propoſed to imitate the example of the council of Conſtance, and by puniſhing the author of this peſtilent hereſy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from ſuch an evil. But the members of the diet refuſing to expoſe the German integrity to freſh reproach by a ſecond violation of publick faith; and Charles being no leſs unwilling to bring a ſtain upon the beginning of his adminiſtration by ſuch an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to depart in ſafety [l]. A few days after he left the city, a ſevere edict was publiſhed in the Emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obſtinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a ſubject of the Empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in ſeizing his perſon as ſoon as the term ſpecified in his ſafe-conduct was expired [m].

The manner of his appearance.

April 26. Edict againſt him.

But

[k] Seckend. 156. Luth. Oper. ii. 414. Hiſt. of Counc. p. 13. Seckend. 160. Conſt. Imperial ii. 408.

[l] F. Paul.

[m] Gold.

1521.

But this rigorous decree had no conſiderable effect, the execution of it being prevented partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the Emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the Elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful patron. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was paſſing near Altenſtein in Thuringia, a number of horſemen in maſks ruſhed ſuddenly out of a wood, where the Elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and ſurrounding his company, carried him, after diſmiſſing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a ſtrong caſtle not far diſtant. There the Elector ordered him to be ſupplied with every thing neceſſary or agreeable; but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the preſent ſtorm againſt him began to abate, upon a change in the political ſituation of Europe. In this ſolitude, where he remained nine months, and which he frequently called his Patmos, after the name of that iſland to which the apoſtle John was baniſhed, he exerted his uſual vigour and induſtry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adverſaries, publiſhing ſeveral treatiſes, which revived the ſpirit of his followers, aſtoniſhed to a great degree, and diſheartened at the ſudden diſappearance of their leader.

He is ſeized and conceal-ed at Wart-burg.

During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground, acquiring the aſcendant in almoſt every city of Saxony. At this time, the Auguſtinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the univerſity, and the connivance of the Elector, ventured upon the firſt ſtep towards an alteration in the eſtabliſhed forms of public worſhip, by aboliſhing the celebration of

Progreſs of his opinions.

Book II. 1521.

of private maſſes, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity in adminiſtering the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

Decree of the univerſity of Paris condemning them.

WHATEVER conſolation the courage and ſucceſs of his diſciples, or the progreſs of his doctrines in his own country, afforded Luther in his retreat, he there received information of two events, which conſiderably damped his joy, as they ſeemed to lay inſuperable obſtacles in the way of propagating his principles in the two moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was, a ſolemn decree, condemning his opinions, publiſhed by the univerſity of Paris, the moſt ancient and at that time the moſt reſpectable of the learned ſocieties in Europe. The other was, the anſwer written to his book concerning the Babyloniſh captivity by Henry VIII. of England. That young monarch, having been educated under the eye of a ſuſpicious father, who, in order to prevent his attending to buſineſs, kept him occupied in the ſtudy of literature, ſtill retained a greater love of learning, and ſtronger habits of application to it, than are common among Princes of ſo active a diſpoſition, and ſuch violent paſſions. Being ambitious of acquiring glory of every kind, as well as zealouſly attached to the Romiſh church, and highly exaſperated againſt Luther, who had treated Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author, with great contempt, Henry did not think it enough to exert his royal authority in oppoſing the opinions of the reformer, but reſolved likewiſe to combat them with ſcholaſtic weapons. With this view he publiſhed his treatiſe on the Seven Sacraments, which, though forgotten at preſent, as books of controverſy always are, when the occaſion that produced them is paſt, is not deſtitute of polemical ingenuity and acuteneſs,

Henry VIII. writes againſt them.

neſs, and was repreſented by the flattery of his courtiers to be a work of ſuch wonderful ſcience and learning, as exalted him no leſs above other authors in merit, than he was diſtinguiſhed among them by his rank. The Pope, to whom it was preſented with the greateſt formality in full conſiſtory, ſpoke of it in ſuch terms, as if it had been dictated by immediate inſpiration; and as a teſtimony of the gratitude of the church for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation which Henry ſoon forfeited in the opinion of thoſe from whom he derived it, and which is ſtill retained by his ſucceſſors, though the avowed enemies of thoſe opinions, by contending for which he merited that honourable diſtinction. Luther, who was not overawed either by the authority of the Univerſity, or the dignity of the monarch, ſoon publiſhed his animadverſions on both in a ſtyle no leſs vehement and ſevere, than he would have uſed in confuting his meaneſt antagoniſt. This indecent boldneſs, inſtead of ſhocking his contemporaries, was conſidered by them as a new proof of his undaunted ſpirit. A controverſy managed by diſputants ſo illuſtrious, drew more general attention; and ſuch was the contagion of the ſpirit of innovation, diffuſed through Europe in that age, and ſo powerful the evidence which accompanied the doctrines of the reformers on their firſt publication, that, in ſpite both of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers combined againſt them, they daily gained converts both in France and in England.

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Luther's reply to both.

How deſirous ſoever the Emperor might be to put a ſtop to Luther's progreſs, he was often obliged, during the diet at Worms, to turn his thoughts

State of affairs between Charles and Francis.

Book II. thoughts to matters ſtill more intereſting, and which demanded more immediate attention. A
1521. war was ready to break out between him and Francis in Navarre, in the Low Countries, and in Italy; and it required either great addreſs to avert the danger, or timely and wiſe precautions to reſiſt it. Every circumſtance, at that juncture, inclined Charles to prefer the former meaſure. Spain was torn with inteſtine commotions. In Italy, he had not hitherto ſecured the aſſiſtance of any one ally. In the Low-Countries, his ſubjects trembled at the thoughts of a rupture with France, the fatal effects of which on their commerce they had often experienced. From theſe conſiderations, as well as from the ſolicitude of Chievres, during his whole adminiſtration, to maintain peace between the two monarchs, proceeded the Emperor's backwardneſs to commence hoſtilities. But Francis and his miniſters did not breathe the ſame pacific ſpirit. He eaſily foreſaw that concord could not long ſubſiſt, where intereſt, emulation, and ambition conſpired to diſſolve it; and he poſſeſſed ſeveral advantages which flattered him with the hopes of ſurpriſing his rival, and of overpowering him before he could put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The French King's dominions, from their compact ſituation, from their ſubjection to the royal authority, from the genius of the people, fond of war, and attached to their ſovereign by every tie of duty and affection, were more capable of a great or ſudden effort, than the larger but diſunited territories of the Emperor, in one part of which the people were in arms againſt his miniſters, and in all his prerogative was more limited than that of his rival.

1521.

THE only princes, in whoſe power it was to have kept down, or to have extinguiſhed this flame on its firſt appearance, either neglected to exert themſelves, or were active in kindling and ſpreading it. Henry VIII. though he affected to aſſume the name of mediator, and both parties made frequent appeals to him, had laid aſide the impartiality which ſuited that character. Wolſey, by his artifices, had eſtranged him ſo entirely from the French King, that he ſecretly fomented the diſcord which he ought to have compoſed, and waited only for ſome decent pretext to join his arms to the Emperor's [n].

Henry VIII. favours the Emperor.

LEO's endeavours to excite diſcord between the Emperor and Francis were more avowed, and had greater influence. Not only his duty, as the common father of Chriſtendom, but his intereſts as an Italian potentate, called upon the Pope to act as the guardian of the public tranquillity, and to avoid any meaſure that might overturn the ſyſtem, which after much bloodſhed, and many negociations, was now eſtabliſhed in Italy. Accordingly Leo, who inſtantly diſcerned the propriety of this conduct, had formed a ſcheme, upon Charles's promotion to the Imperial dignity, of rendering himſelf the umpire between the rivals, by ſoothing them alternately, while he entered into no cloſe confederacy with either; and a pontiff leſs ambitious and enterprizing, might have ſaved Europe from many calamities by adhering to this plan. But this high-ſpirited prelate, who was ſtill in the prime of life, longed paſſionately to diſtinguiſh his pontificate by ſome ſplendid action. He was impatient to waſh away the infamy of having loſt Parma and Placentia, the acquiſition

Leo heſitates between the rivals.

[n] Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 258.

Book II. acquiſition of which reflected ſo much luſtre on the adminiſtration of his predeceſſor Julius. He beheld, with the indignation natural to Italians in that age, the dominion which the Tranſalpine, or as they, in imitation of the Roman arrogance, denominated them, the barbarous nations, had attained in Italy. He flattered himſelf, that after aſſiſting the one monarch to ſtrip the other of his poſſeſſions in that country, he might find means of driving out the victor in his turn, and acquire the glory of reſtoring Italy to the liberty and happineſs which it enjoyed before the invaſion of Charles VIII. when every ſtate was governed by its native princes, or its own laws, and unacquainted with a foreign yoke. Extravagant and chimerical as this project may ſeem, it was the favourite object of almoſt every Italian eminent for genius or enterprize during great part of the ſixteenth century. They vainly hoped, that by ſuperior ſkill in the artifices and refinements of negociation, they ſhould be able to baffle the efforts of nations, ruder indeed than themſelves, but much more powerful and warlike. So alluring was the proſpect of this to Leo, that notwithſtanding the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, and his fondneſs for the pleaſures of a refined and luxurious eaſe, he haſtened to diſturb the peace of Europe, and to plunge himſelf in a dangerous war, with an impetuoſity ſcarcely inferior to that of the turbulent and martial Julius [o].

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It was in Leo's power, however, to chuſe which of the monarchs he would take for his confederate againſt the other. Both of them courted his friendſhip; he wavered for ſome time between them, and at firſt concluded an alliance with Francis. The object of this treaty was

[o] Guic. lib. xiv. p. 173.

was the conqueſt of Naples, which the confederates agreed to divide between them. The Pope, it is probable, flattered himſelf, that the briſk and active ſpirit of Francis, ſeconded by the ſame qualities in his ſubjects, would get the ſtart of the ſlow and wary councils of the Emperor, and that they might over-run with eaſe this detached portion of his dominions, ill provided for defence, and always the prey of every invader. But whether the French King, by diſcovering too openly his ſuſpicions of Leo's ſincerity, diſappointed theſe hopes; whether the treaty was only an artifice of the Pope's, to cover the more ſerious negociations which he was carrying on with Charles; whether he was enticed by the proſpect of reaping greater advantages from an union with that prince; or whether he was ſoothed by the zeal which Charles had manifeſted for the honour of the church in condemning Luther; certain it is, that he ſoon deſerted his new ally, and made overtures of friendſhip, though with great ſecrecy, to the Emperor [p]. Don John Manuel, the ſame man who had been the favourite of Philip, and whoſe addreſs had diſconcerted all Ferdinand's ſchemes, having been delivered, upon the death of that monarch, from the priſon to which he had been confined, was now the Imperial ambaſſador at Rome, and fully capable of improving this favourable diſpoſition in the Pope to his maſter's advantage [q]. To him the conduct of this negociation was entirely committed; and being carefully concealed from Chievres, whoſe averſion from a war with France would have prompted him to retard or defeat it, an alliance between the Pope and Emperor was quickly concluded

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Concludes a treaty with Charles.

May 8.

[p] Guic. lib. xiv. p. 175. Mem. de Bellay, Par. 1573. p. 24.
[q] Jovii Vita Leonis, lib. iv. p. 89

Book II. cluded [r]. The chief articles in this treaty, which proved the foundation of Charles's grandeur in Italy, were, that the Pope and Emperor ſhould join their forces to expel the French out of the Milaneſe, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould be granted to Francis Sforza, a ſon of Ludovico the Moor, who had reſided at Trent ſince the time his brother Maximilian had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the French King; that Parma and Placentia ſhould be reſtored to the church; that the Emperor ſhould aſſiſt the Pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the Holy See ſhould be increaſed; that the Emperor ſhould take the family of Medici under his protection; that he ſhould grant to the Cardinal of that name a penſion of ten thouſand ducats upon the archbiſhoprick of Toledo; and ſettle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the ſame value upon Alexander the natural ſon of Lorenzo de Medici.

1521.

Death of Chievres, the Emperor's favourite and miniſter.

The tranſacting an affair of ſuch moment without his participation, appeared to Chievres ſo deciſive a proof of his having loſt the aſcendant which he had hitherto maintained over the mind of his pupil, that his chagrin on this account, added to the melancholy with which he was overwhelmed on taking a view of the many and unavoidable calamities attending a war againſt France, is ſaid to have ſhortened his days [s]. But though this, perhaps, may be only the conjecture of hiſtorians, fond of attributing every thing that befals illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, and of aſcribing even their diſeaſes

[r] Guic. l. xiv. 181. Mem. de Bellay, p. 24. Du Mont. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. ſuppl. p. 96. [s] Belcarii Comment. de reb. Gallic. 483.

diſeaſes and death to the effect of political paſſions, which are more apt to diſturb the enjoyment than to abridge the period of life, it is certain that his death at this critical juncture extinguiſhed all hopes of avoiding a rupture with France [t]. This event, too, delivered Charles from a miniſter, to whoſe authority he had been accuſtomed from his infancy to ſubmit with ſuch implicit deference, as checked and depreſſed his genius, and retained him in a ſtate of pupillage, unbecoming his years as well as his rank; but this reſtraint being removed, the native powers of his mind were permitted to unfold themſelves, and he began to diſplay ſuch great talents, both in council and in execution, as exceeded the hopes of his contemporaries [u], and command the admiration of poſterity.

Commencement of hoſtilities in Navarre.

WHILE the Pope and Emperor were preparing, in conſequence of their ſecret alliance, to attack Milan, hoſtilities commenced in another quarter. The children of John d'Albret, King of Navarre, having often demanded the reſtitution of their hereditary dominions, in terms of the treaty of Noyon, and Charles having as often eluded their requeſts upon very frivolous pretexts, Francis thought himſelf authorized by that treaty to aſſiſt the exiled family. The juncture appeared extremely favourable for ſuch an enterprize. Charles was at a diſtance from that part of his dominions; the troops uſually ſtationed there, had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spaniſh malecontents warmly ſolicited him to invade Navarre [x], in which a conſiderable faction was ready to declare for the deſcendants of their ancient monarchs. But in order to avoid, as much as poſſible,

[t] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtriac. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 197.
[u] P. Mart. Ep. 735. [x] P. Mart. Ep. 721.

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poſſible, giving offence to the Emperor, or King of England, Francis directed forces to be levied, and the war to be carried on, not in his own name, but in that of Henry d'Albret. The conduct of theſe troops was committed to Andrew de Foix, de l'Eſparre, a young nobleman, whom his near alliance to the unfortunate king whoſe battles he was to fight, and what was ſtill more powerful, the intereſt of his ſiſter, madame de Chateaubriand, Francis's favourite miſtreſs, recommended to that important truſt, for which he had neither talents nor experience. But as there was no army in the field to oppoſe him, he became maſter, in a few days, of the whole kingdom of Navarre, without meeting with any obſtruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna. The additional works to this fortreſs, begun by Ximenes, were ſtill unfiniſhed; nor would its ſlight reſiſtance have deſerved notice, if Ignatio Loyola, a Biſcayan gentleman, had not been dangerouſly wounded in its defence. During the progreſs of a lingering cure, Loyola happened to have no other amuſement than what he found in reading the lives of the ſaints: The effect of this on his mind, naturally enthuſiaſtic, but ambitious and daring, was to inſpire him with ſuch a deſire of emulating the glory of theſe fabulous worthies of the Romiſh church, as led him into the wildeſt and moſt extravagant adventures, which terminated at laſt in inſtituting the ſociety of Jeſuits, the moſt political and beſt regulated of all the monaſtick orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantages, and received greater hurt, than from any other of theſe religious fraternities.

Progreſs of the French.

They enter Caſtile.

If, upon the reduction of Pampeluna, L'Eſparre had been ſatisfied with taking proper precautions

cautions for ſecuring his conqueſt, the kingdom of Navarre might ſtill have remained annexed to the crown of France, in reality, as well as in title. But, puſhed on by youthful ardour, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with ſucceſs, he ventured to paſs the confines of Navarre, and to lay ſiege to Logrogno, a ſmall town in Caſtile. This rouzed the Caſtilians, who had hitherto beheld the rapid progreſs of his arms with great unconcern, and the diſſenſions in that kingdom being almoſt compoſed, both parties exerted themſelves with emulation in defence of their country; the one, that it might efface the memory of paſt miſconduct by its preſent zeal; the other, that it might add to the merit of having ſubdued the Emperor's rebellious ſubjects, that of repulſing his foreign enemies. The ſudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logrogno, obliged the French general to abandon his raſh enterprize. The Spaniſh army, which increaſed every day, haraſſing him during his retreat, he, inſtead of taking ſhelter under the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of ſome troops which were marching to join him, attacked the Spaniards, though far ſuperior to him in number, with great impetuoſity, but with ſo little conduct, that his forces were totally routed, he himſelf, together with his principal officers, was taken priſoner, and Spain recovered poſſeſſion of Navarre in ſtill ſhorter time than the French had ſpent in the conqueſt of it[y].

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They are defeated, and driven out of Navarre.

While Francis endeavoured to juſtify his invaſion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry D'Albret, he had recourſe to an

Hoſtilities begun in the Low Countries.

[y] Mem. de Bellay, p. 21. P. Mart. Ep. 726.

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artifice much of the ſame kind, in attacking another part of the Emperor's territories. Robert de la Mark lord of the ſmall but independent territory of Bouillon, ſituated on the frontiers of Luxembourg and Champagne, having abandoned Charles's ſervice on account of an encroachment which the Aulick council had made on his juriſdiction, and having thrown himſelf upon France for protection, was eaſily perſuaded, in the heat of his reſentment, to ſend a herald to Worms, and to declare war againſt the Emperor in form. Such extravagant inſolence in a petty prince ſurprized Charles, and appeared to him a certain proof of his having received promiſes of powerful ſupport from the French king. The juſtneſs of this concluſion ſoon became evident. Robert entered Luxembourg with troops levied in France, by the King's connivance, though ſeemingly in contradiction to his orders, and after ravaging the open country, laid ſiege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and ſummoned Henry VIII. in terms of the treaty concluded at London in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighteen, to turn his arms againſt Francis as the firſt aggreſſor. Francis pretended that he was not anſwerable for Robert's conduct, whoſe army fought under his own ſtandards, and in his own quarrel; and affirmed, that, contrary to an expreſs prohibition, he had ſeduced ſome ſubjects of France into his ſervice; but Henry paid ſo little regard to this evaſion, that the French King, rather than irritate a prince whom he ſtill hoped to gain, commanded de la Mark to diſband his troops [z].

THE

[z] Mem. de Bellay, p. 22, &c. Mem. de Fleuranges, p. 335, &c.

THE Emperor, mean while, was aſſembling an army to chaſtiſe Robert's inſolence. Twenty thouſand men, under the count of Naſſau, invaded his little territories, and in a few days became maſters of every place in them but Sedan. After making him feel ſo ſenſibly the weight of his maſter's indignation, Naſſau advanced towards the frontiers of France; and Charles knowing that he might preſume ſo far on Henry's partiality in his favour, as not to be over-awed by the ſame fears which had reſtrained Francis, ordered his general to beſiege Mouſon. The cowardice of the garriſon having obliged the governor to ſurrender almoſt without reſiſtance, Naſſau inveſted Mezieres, a place at that time of no conſiderable ſtrength, but ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that by getting poſſeſſion of it, the Imperial army might have penetrated into the heart of Champagne, in which there was hardly any other town capable of obſtructing its progreſs. Happily for France, its monarch, ſenſible of the importance of this fortreſs, and of the danger to which it was expoſed, committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, diſtinguiſhed among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without fear, and without reproach* [a]. This man, whoſe proweſs in combat, whoſe punctilious honour and formal gallantry, bear a nearer reſemblance, than any thing recorded in hiſtory, to the character aſcribed to the heroes of chivalry, poſſeſſed all the talents which form a great general. Theſe he had many occaſions of exerting in the defence of Mezieres; partly by his valour, partly by his conduct, he protracted the ſiege to a great length, and in the end obliged the Imperialiſts to raiſe it,

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Siege of Mezieres by the Imperialiſts

[a] Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. 114.

Book II. 1521. raiſed.

it, with infamy and loſs [b]. Francis, at the head of a numerous army, ſoon retook Mouſon, and entering the Low Countries, made ſeveral conqueſts of ſmall importance. In the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, through an exceſs of caution, an error with which he cannot be often charged, he loſt an opportunity of cutting off the whole Imperial army [c]; and what was ſtill of more conſequence, he diſguſted the conſtable Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke D'Alençon, though this poſt of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office.

Auguſt. Congreſs at Calais, under the mediation of England,

During theſe operations in the field, a congreſs was held at Calais under the mediation of Henry VIII. in order to bring all differences to an amicable iſſue; and if the intentions of the mediator had correſponded in any degree to his profeſſions, it could hardly have failed of producing ſome good effect. Henry committed the ſole management of the negociation, with unlimited powers, to Wolſey; and this choice alone was ſufficient to have rendered it abortive. That prelate, bent on attaining the papal crown, the great object of his ambition, and ready to ſacrifice every thing in order to gain the Emperor's intereſt, was ſo little able to conceal his partiality, that, if Francis had not been well acquainted with his haughty and vindictive temper, he would have declined his mediation. Much time was ſpent in inquiring who had begun hoſtilities, which Wolſey affected to repreſent as the principal point; and by throwing the blame of that on Francis, he hoped to juſtify, by the treaty of London, any alliance into which his

[b] Mem. de Bellay, p. 25, &c. [c] P. Mart. Ep. 747. Mem. de Bellay, 35.

his maſter ſhould enter with Charles. The conditions on which hoſtilities might be terminated, came next to be conſidered; but with regard to theſe, the Emperor's propoſals were ſuch as diſcovered either that he was utterly averſe to peace, or that he knew Wolſey would approve of whatever terms ſhould be offered in his name. He demanded the reſtitution of the dutchy of Burgundy, a province, the poſſeſſion of which would have given him acceſs into the heart of the kingdom; and required a diſcharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which none of his anceſtors had ever refuſed, and which he had bound himſelf by the treaty of Noyon to renew. Theſe terms, to which an high-ſpirited prince would ſcarcely have liſtened, after the diſaſters of the moſt unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great diſdain; and Charles ſhewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propoſitions of the French monarch, that he ſhould reſtore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the ſiege of Tournay, the congreſs broke up without any other effect, than that which attends unſucceſsful negociations, the exaſperating of the parties, whom it was intended to reconcile [d].

1521. without any effect.

During the continuance of the congreſs, Wolſey, on pretence that the Emperor himſelf would be more willing to make reaſonable conceſſions than his miniſters, made an excurſion to Bruges, to meet that monarch. He was received by Charles, who knew his vanity, with as much reſpect and magnificence as if he had been king of England. But inſtead of advancing the treaty of peace by this interview, Wolſey,

League againſt France between the Emperor and Henry

[d] P. Mart. Ep. 739. Herbert.

Book II. 1521. Wolſey, in his maſter's name, concluded a league with the Emperor againſt Francis; in which it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould invade France on the ſide of Spain, and Henry in Picardy, each with an army of forty thouſand men; and that, in order to ſtrengthen their union, Charles ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs Mary, Henry's only child, and the apparent heir of his dominions [e]. Henry produced no better reaſons for this meaſure, equally unjuſt and impolitick, than the article in the treaty of London, by which he pretended that he was bound to take arms againſt the French King as the firſt aggreſſor; and the injury which he alleged Francis had done him, in permitting the duke of Albany, the head of a faction in Scotland which oppoſed his intereſt, to return into that kingdom. He was influenced, however, by other conſiderations. The advantages which accrued to his ſubjects from maintaining an exact neutrality, or the honour that reſulted to himſelf from acting as the arbiter between the contending princes, appeared to his youthful imagination ſo inconſiderable, when compared with the glory which Charles and Francis reaped from leading armies or conquering provinces, that he determined to remain no longer in a ſtate of inactivity. Having once taken this reſolution, his inducements to prefer an alliance with Charles were obvious. He had no claim upon any part of that Prince's dominions, moſt of which were ſo ſituated, that he could not attack them without great difficulty and diſadvantage; whereas ſeveral maritime provinces of France had been long in the hands of the Engliſh monarchs, whoſe pretenſions, even to the crown of that kingdom, were not as yet altogether

[e] Rymer, Fœder. xiii. Herbert.

altogether forgotten; and the poſſeſſion of Calais not only gave him eaſy acceſs into ſome of theſe provinces, but in caſe of any diſaſter, afforded him a ſecure retreat. While Charles attacked France upon one frontier, Henry flattered himſelf that he would find little reſiſtance on the other, and that the glory of re-annexing to the crown of England the ancient inheritance of its monarchs on the continent, was reſerved for his reign. Wolſey artfully encouraged theſe vain hopes, which led his maſter into ſuch meaſures as were moſt ſubſervient to his own ſecret ſchemes; and the Engliſh, whoſe hereditary animoſity againſt the French was apt to rekindle on every occaſion, did not diſapprove of the martial ſpirit of their ſovereign.

Hoſtilities in Italy.

MEANWHILE the league between the Pope and Emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the chief theatre of war. There was, at that time, ſuch contrariety between the character of the French and Italians, that the latter ſubmitted to the government of the former with greater impatience, than they expreſſed under the dominion of other foreigners. The phlegm of the Germans and gravity of the Spaniards, ſuited their jealous temper and ceremonious manners better than the French gaiety, too prone to gallantry, and too little attentive to decorum. Lewis XII. however, by the equity and gentleneſs of his adminiſtration, and by granting the Milaneſe more extenſive privileges than thoſe they had enjoyed under their native princes, had overcome, in a great meaſure, their prejudices, and reconciled them to the French government. Francis, on recovering that dutchy, did not imitate the example of his predeceſſor. Though too generous himſelf to oppreſs his people, his boundleſs

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boundleſs confidence in his favourites, and his negligence in examining into the conduct of thoſe whom he entruſted with power, emboldened them to venture upon many acts of oppreſſion. The government of Milan was committed by him to Odet de Foix, Marechal de Lautrec, another brother of Madame de Chateau-Briand, an officer of great experience and reputation, but haughty, imperious, rapacious, and incapable either of liſtening to advice, or of bearing contradiction. His inſolence and exactions totally alienated the affections of the Milaneſe from France, drove many of the conſiderable citizens into baniſhment, and forced others to retire for their own ſafety. Among the laſt was Jerome Moronè, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man whoſe genius for intrigue and enterprize diſtinguiſhed him in an age and country, where violent factions, as well as frequent revolutions, affording great ſcope for ſuch talents, produced or called them forth in great abundance. He repaired to Francis Sforza, whoſe brother Maximilian he had betrayed; and ſuſpecting the Pope's intention of attacking the Milaneſe, although his treaty with the Emperor was not yet made publick, he propoſed to Leo, in name of Sforza, a ſcheme for ſurprizing ſeveral places in that dutchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former maſters, were ready for any deſperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a conſiderable ſum towards the execution of it; and when through unforeſeen accidents it failed of ſucceſs in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had aſſembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged at that time to the church. The Marechal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in abſence of his brother Lautrec,

The Milaneſe diſguſted with the French government.

Lautrec, who was then in France, tempted with the hopes of catching at once, as in a ſnare, all the avowed enemies of his maſter's government in that country, ventured to march into the eccleſiaſtical territories, and to inveſt Reggio. But the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini the hiſtorian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with diſgrace[f]. Leo, on receiving this intelligence, with which he was highly pleaſed, as it furniſhed him a decent pretext for a rupture with France, immediately aſſembled the conſiſtory of Cardinals. After complaining bitterly of the hoſtile intentions of the French King, and magnifying the Emperor's zeal for the church, of which he had given a recent proof by his proceedings againſt Luther, he declared that he was conſtrained in ſelf-defence, and as the only expedient for the ſecurity of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to join his arms to thoſe of that prince. For this purpoſe, he now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manuel, although it had really been ſigned ſome months before this time; and he publickly excommunicated De Foix, as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

Book II. 1521. June 24.

The Pope declares againſt Francis.

Leo had already begun preparations for war by taking into pay a conſiderable body of Swiſs; but the Imperial troops advanced ſo ſlowly from Naples and Germany, that it was the middle of autumn before the army took the field under the command of Proſper Colonna, the moſt eminent of the Italian generals, whoſe extreme caution, the effect of long experience in the art of war, were oppoſed with great propriety to the impetuoſity of the French. In the

War in the Milaneſe.

[f] Guic. lib. xiv. 183. Mem. de Bellay, p. 38, &c.

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the mean time, De Foix diſpatched courier after courier to inform the King of the danger which was approaching. Francis, whoſe forces were either employed in the Low Countries, or aſſembling on the frontiers of Spain, and who did not expect ſo ſudden an attack in that quarter, ſent ambaſſadors to his allies the Swiſs, to procure from them the immediate levy of an additional body of troops; and commanded Lautrec to repair forthwith to his government. That general, who was well acquainted with the great neglect of œconomy in the adminiſtration of the King's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milaneſe had already ſuffered from the want of their pay, refuſed to ſet out, unleſs the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns was immediately put into his hands. But the King, Louiſe of Savoy, his mother, and Semblancay, the ſuperintendent of finances, having promiſed, even with an oath, that on his arrival at Milan he ſhould find remittances for the ſum which he demanded; upon the faith of this, he departed. Unhappily for France, Louiſe, a woman deceitful, vindictive, rapacious, and capable of ſacrificing any thing to the gratification of her paſſions, but who had acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon by her maternal tenderneſs, her care of his education, and her great abilities, was reſolved not to perform this promiſe. Lautrec having incurred her diſpleaſure by his haughtineſs in neglecting to pay court to her, and by the freedom with which he had talked concerning ſome of her adventures in gallantry, ſhe, in order to deprive him of the honour which he might have gained by a ſucceſsful defence of the Milaneſe, ſeized the three hundred thouſand crowns deſtined for that ſervice, and detained them for her own uſe.

LAUTREC,

1521. Progreſs of the Imperialiſts.

Lautrec, notwithſtanding this cruel diſappointment, found means to aſſemble a conſiderable army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates. He adopted the plan of defence moſt ſuitable to his ſituation, avoiding a pitched battle with the greateſt care, while he haraſſed the enemy continually with his light troops, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and covered or relieved every place which they attempted to attack. By this prudent conduct, he not only retarded their progreſs, but would have ſoon wearied out the Pope, who had hitherto defrayed almoſt the whole expence of the war, as the Emperor, whoſe revenues in Spain were diſſipated during the commotions in that country, and who was obliged to ſupport a numerous army in the Netherlands, could not make any conſiderable remittances into Italy. But an unforeſeen accident diſconcerted all his meaſures, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in the French affairs. A body of twelve thouſand Swiſs ſerved in Lautrec's army under the banners of the republick, with which France was in alliance. By a law, no leſs political than humane, eſtabliſhed among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by publick authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, the love of gain had ſometimes eluded, and private perſons had been allowed to enliſt in what ſervice they pleaſed, though not under the publick banners, but under thoſe of their officers. The Cardinal of Sion, who ſtill preſerved his intereſt among his countrymen, and his enmity to France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thouſand Swiſs joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, when they ſaw ſo many of their countrymen marching under hoſtile

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tile ſtandards, and ready to deſtroy each other, became ſo ſenſible of the infamy to which they would be expoſed, as well as the loſs they might ſuffer, that they diſpatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The Cardinal of Sion, however, had the addreſs, by corrupting the meſſengers appointed to carry this order, to prevent it from being delivered to the Swiſs in the ſervice of the confederates; but being intimated in due form to thoſe in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, inſtantly yielded obedience, in ſpite of Lautrec's remonſtrances and intreaties.

Become maſters of Milan.

After the deſertion of a body which formed the ſtrength of his army, Lautrec durſt no longer face the confederates. He retired towards Milan, encamped on the banks of the Adda, and placed his chief hopes of ſafety in preventing the enemy from paſſing the river; an expedient for defending a country ſo precarious, that there are few examples of its being employed with ſucceſs againſt any general of experience or abilities. Accordingly Colonna, notwithſtanding Lautrec's vigilance and activity, paſſed the Adda with little loſs, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up within the walls of Milan, which the confederates were preparing to beſiege when an unknown perſon, who never afterwards appeared either to boaſt of this ſervice, or to claim a reward for it, came from the city and acquainted Moronè, that if the army would advance that night, the Ghibelline or Imperial faction would put them in poſſeſſion of one of the gates. Colonna, though no friend to raſh enterprizes, allowed the marquis de Peſcara to advance with the Spaniſh infantry, and

and he himſelf followed with the reſt of his troops. About the beginning of night, Peſcara arriving at the Roman gate in the ſuburbs, ſurprized the ſoldiers whom he found there; thoſe poſted in the fortifications adjoining to it, immediately fled; the marquis, ſeizing the works which they abandoned, and puſhing forward inceſſantly, though with no leſs caution than vigour, became maſter of the city with little bloodſhed, and almoſt without reſiſtance; the victors being as much aſtoniſhed as the vanquiſhed at the facility and ſucceſs of the attempt. Lautrec retired precipitately towards the Venetian territories with the remains of his ſhattered army; the cities of the Milaneſe, following the fate of the capital, ſurrendered to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and of all their conqueſts in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the caſtle of Milan, and a few inconſiderable forts remained in the hands of the French g. Book II. 1521.

Death of Leo X.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid ſucceſſion of proſperous events with ſuch tranſports of joy, as brought on (if we may believe the French hiſtorians) a ſlight fever, which being neglected, occaſioned his death on the ſecond of December, while he was ſtill of a vigorous age, and at the height of his glory. By this unexpected accident, the ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended. The Cardinals of Sion and Medici left the army that they might be preſent in the conclave; the Swiſs were recalled by their ſuperiors; ſome other mercenaries diſbanded for want of

g Guic. l. xiv. 190, &c. Mem. de Bellay, 42, &c. Galencii Capella de reb. geſt. pro reſtitut. Fran. Sfortiæ Comment. ap. Scardium, vol. ii. 180, &c.

Book II. of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Emperor's ſervice, remained to defend the Milaneſe. But Lautrec, deſtitute both of men and of money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity in the manner which he would have wiſhed. The vigilance of Moronè, and the good conduct of Colonna, diſappointed his feeble attempts on the Milaneſe.

1521.

1522. Guicciardini, by his addreſs and valour, repulſed a bolder and more dangerous attack which he made on Parma [h].

Adrian elected Pope

GREAT diſcord prevailed in the conclave, which followed upon Leo's death, and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for a prize ſo valuable, were practiſed. Wolſey's name, notwithſtanding all the Emperor's magnificent promiſes to favour his pretenſions, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the conclave. Julio Cardinal de Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than any other member of the ſacred college for his abilities, his wealth, and his experience in tranſacting great affairs, had already ſecured fifteen voices, a number ſufficient, according to the forms of the conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry his own election. All the old cardinals combined againſt him, without being united in favour of any other perſon. While theſe factions were endeavouring to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out each other, Medici and his adherents voted one morning at the ſcrutiny, which according to form was made every day, for Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the Emperor's name. This they did merely to

[h] Guic. l. xiv. 214.

to protract time. But the adverſe party inſtantly cloſing with them, to their own amazement and that of all Europe, a ſtranger to Italy, unknown to the perſons who gave their ſuffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the intereſt of the ſtate, the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimouſly raiſed to the papal throne, January 9. at a juncture ſo delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the ſagacity and experience of one of the moſt able prelates in the ſacred college. The Cardinals themſelves, unable to give a reaſon for this ſtrange choice, on account of which, as they marched in proceſſion from the conclave, they were loaded with inſults and curſes by the Roman people, aſcribed it to an immediate impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt. It may be imputed with greater certainty to the influence of Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambaſſador, who by his addreſs and intrigues facilitated the election of a perſon devoted to his maſter's ſervice, from gratitude, from intereſt, and from inclination [i].

War renewed in the Milaneſe.

Beside the influence which Charles acquired by Adrian's promotion, it threw great luſtre on his adminiſtration. To beſtow on his preceptor ſuch a noble recompence, and to place on the papal throne a creature whom he had raiſed, were acts of uncommon magnificence and power. Francis obſerved, with the ſenſibility of a rival, the pre-eminence which he was gaining, and reſolved to exert himſelf with freſh vigour, in order to wreſt from him his late conqueſts in Italy. The Swiſs, that they might make ſome

i Herm. Moringi Vita Hadriani ap. Caſp. Burman, in Analect. de Hadr. p. 52. Conclave Hadr. Ibid. p. 144, &c

Book II. 1522. reparation to the French King, for having withdrawn their troops from his army ſo unſeaſonably, as to occaſion the loſs of the Milaneſe, permitted him to levy ten thouſand men in the republick. Together with this reinforcement, Lautrec received from the King a ſmall ſum of money, which enabled him once more to take the field, and after ſeizing by ſurprize, or force, ſeveral places in the Milaneſe, to advance within a few miles of the capital. The confederate army was in no condition to obſtruct his progreſs; for though the inhabitants of Milan, by the artifices of Moronè, and by the popular declamations of a monk whom he employed, were inflamed with ſuch enthuſiaſtick zeal againſt the French government, that they conſented to raiſe extraordinary contributions, Colonna muſt ſoon have abandoned the advantageous camp which he had choſen at Bicocca, and have diſmiſſed his troops for want of pay, if the Swiſs in the French ſervice had not once more extricated him out of his difficulties.

The French defeated in the battle of Bicocca.

THE inſolence or caprice of that people were often no leſs fatal to their friends, than their valour and diſcipline were formidable to their enemies. Having now ſerved ſome months without pay, of which they complained loudly, a ſum deſtined for their uſe was ſent from France under a convoy of horſe; but Moronè, whoſe vigilant eye nothing eſcaped, poſted a body of troops in their way, ſo that the party which eſcorted the money durſt not advance. On receiving intelligence of this, the Swiſs loſt all patience, and officers as well as ſoldiers crowding around Lautrec, threatened with one voice inſtantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay which was due, or promiſe to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec remonſtrate

ſtrate againſt theſe demands, repreſenting to them the impoſſibility of the former, and the raſhneſs of the latter, which muſt be attended with certain deſtruction, as the enemy occupied a camp naturally of great ſtrength, and which by art they had rendered almoſt inacceſſible. The Swiſs, deaf to reaſon, and perſuaded that their valour was capable of ſurmounting every obſtacle, renewed their demand with greater fierceneſs, offering themſelves to form the vanguard, and to begin the attack. Lautrec, unable to overcome their obſtinacy, complied with their requeſt, hoping, perhaps, that ſome of thoſe unforeſeen accidents, which ſo often determine the fate of battles, might crown this raſh enterprize with undeſerved ſucceſs; and convinced that the effects of a defeat could not be more fatal than thoſe which would certainly follow upon the retreat of a body which compoſed one half of his army. Next morning the Swiſs were early in the field, and marched with the greateſt intrepidity againſt an enemy deeply intrenched on every ſide, ſurrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they advanced, they ſuſtained a furious cannonade with great firmneſs, and without waiting for their own artillery, ruſhed impetuouſly upon the intrenchments. But after incredible efforts of valour, which were ſeconded with great ſpirit by the French, having loſt their braveſt officers and beſt ſoldiers, and finding that they could make no impreſſion on the enemy's works, they ſounded a retreat; leaving the field of battle, however, like men repulſed, but not vanquiſhed, in cloſe array, and without receiving any moleſtation from the enemy.

Book II. 1522. May.

Next day, ſuch as ſurvived ſet out for their own country; and Lautrec, deſpairing of being able

Driven out of the Milaneſe.

Book II. 1522. able to make any farther reſiſtance, retired into France, after throwing garriſons into Cremona, and a few other places; all which, except the citadel of Cremona, Colonna ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

Loſe Genoa. GENOA, however, and its territories, remaining ſubject to France, ſtill gave Francis conſiderable footing in Italy, and made it eaſy for him to execute any ſcheme for the recovery of the Milaneſe. But Colonna, rendered enterprizing by continual ſucceſs, and excited by the ſolicitations of the faction of the Adorni, the hereditary enemies of the Fregoſi, who under the protection of France poſſeſſed the chief authority in Genoa, determined to attempt the reduction of that ſtate; and accompliſhed it with amazing facility. He became maſter of Genoa by an accident as unexpected as that which had given him poſſeſſion of Milan; and almoſt without oppoſition or bloodſhed, the power of the Adorni and the authority of the Emperor were eſtabliſhed in Genoa [k].

Henry VIII. declares war againſt France. May 29. SUCH a cruel ſucceſſion of misfortunes affected Francis with deep concern, which was not a little augmented by the unexpected arrival of an Engliſh herald, who, in the name of his ſovereign, declared war in form againſt France. This ſtep was taken in conſequence of the treaty which Wolſey had concluded with the Emperor at Bruges, and which had hitherto been kept ſecret. Francis, though he had reaſon to be ſurprized with this denunciation, after having been at ſuch pains to ſooth Henry and to gain his miniſter, received the herald with great compoſure

[k] Jovii Vita Ferdin. Davali, p. 344. Guic. l. xiv. 233.

compoſure and dignity [1]; and without abandoning any of the ſchemes which he was forming againſt the Emperor, began vigorous preparations for reſiſting this new enemy. His treaſury, however, being exhauſted by the efforts which he had already made, as well as by the ſums he expended on his pleaſures, he had recourſe to extraordinary expedients for ſupplying it. Several new offices were created and expoſed to ſale; the royal demeſnes were alienated; unuſual taxes were impoſed; and the tomb of St. Martin was ſtripped of a rail of maſſive ſilver, with which Louis XI. in one of his fits of devotion, had encircled it. By means of theſe expedients he was enabled to levy a conſiderable army, and to put the frontier towns in a good poſture of defence.

Charles viſits England.

THE Emperor, meanwhile, was no leſs ſolicitous to draw as much advantage as poſſible from the acceſſion of ſuch a powerful ally; and the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, at this time, permitting him to ſet out for Spain, where his preſence was extremely neceſſary, he viſited the court of England in his way to that country. He propoſed by this interview not only to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip which united him with Henry, and to excite him to puſh the war againſt France with vigour, but hoped to remove any diſguſt or reſentment that Wolſey might have conceived on account of the cruel diſappointment which he had met with in the late conclave. His ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; and by his artful addreſs, during a reſidence of ſix weeks in England, he gained not only the King and the miniſter, but the nation itſelf. Henry, whoſe vanity

[1] Journal de Louiſe de Savoie, p. 199.

Book II. 1522. vanity was ſenſibly flattered by ſuch a viſit, as well as by the ſtudied reſpect with which the Emperor treated him on every occaſion, entered warmly into all his ſchemes. The Cardinal, foreſeeing from Adrian's age and infirmities, a ſudden vacancy in the papal ſee, diſſembled or forgot his reſentment; and as Charles, beſides augmenting the penſions which he had already ſettled on him, renewed his promiſe of favouring his pretenſions to the papacy, with all his intereſt, he endeavoured to merit the former, and to ſecure the accompliſhment of the latter, by freſh ſervices. The nation, ſharing in the glory of its monarch, and pleaſed with the confidence which the Emperor placed in the Engliſh, by creating the earl of Surrey his high-admiral, diſcovered no leſs inclination to commence hoſtilities than Henry himſelf.

The Engliſh invade France, with little ſucceſs.

In order to give Charles, before he left England, a proof of this general ardour, Surrey ſailed with ſuch forces as were ready, and ravaged the coaſts of Normandy. He then made a deſcent on Bretagne, where he plundered and burnt Morlaix, and ſome other places of leſs conſequence. After theſe ſlight excurſions, attended with greater diſhonour than damage to France, he repaired to Calais, and took the command of the principal army, conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand men; with which, having joined the Flemiſh troops under the count de Buren, he advanced into Picardy. The army which Francis had aſſembled, was far inferior in number to theſe united bodies. But during the long wars between the two nations, the French had diſcovered the proper method of defending their country againſt the Engliſh. They had been taught by their misfortunes to avoid a pitched battle with the utmoſt care, and to endeavour, by

by throwing garriſons into every place capable of reſiſtance, by watching all the enemy's motions, by intercepting their convoys, attacking their advanced poſts, and haraſſing them continually with their numerous cavalry, to ruin them with the length of the war, or to beat them by piece-meal. This plan the duke of Vendome, the French general in Picardy, purſued with no leſs prudence than ſucceſs; and not only prevented Surrey from taking any town of importance, but obliged him to retire with his army greatly reduced by fatigue, by want of proviſions, and by the loſs which it had ſuſtained in ſeveral unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes. Book II. 1522.

THUS ended the ſecond campaign in a war the moſt general that hitherto had been kindled in Europe; and though Francis, by his mother's ill-timed reſentment, by the diſguſting inſolence of his general, and the caprice of the mercenary troops which he employed, had loſt his conqueſts in Italy, yet all the powers combined againſt him had not been able to make any impreſſion on his hereditary dominions; and wherever they either intended or attempted an attack, he was well prepared to receive them. Solyman's conqueſt of Rhodes.

WHILE the Chriſtian princes were thus waſting each other's ſtrength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary with a numerous army, and inveſting Belgrade, which was deemed the chief barrier of that kingdom againſt the Turkiſh arms, ſoon forced it to ſurrender. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he turned his victorious arms againſt the iſland of Rhodes, the ſeat, at that time, of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. This ſmall ſtate he attacked with ſuch a numerous army, as the lords of Aſia

Book II. 1522. Aſia have been accuſtomed in every age to bring into the field. Two hundred thouſand men, and a fleet of four hundred ſail appeared againſt a town defended by a garriſon conſiſting of five thouſand ſoldiers, and ſix hundred knights, under the command of Villiers de L'iſle Adam, the grand maſter, whoſe wiſdom and valour rendered him worthy of that ſtation at ſuch a dangerous juncture. No ſooner did he begin to ſuſpect the deſtination of Solyman's vaſt armaments, than he diſpatched meſſengers to all the Chriſtian courts, imploring their aid againſt the common enemy. But though every prince in that age acknowledged Rhodes to be the great bulwark of Chriſtendom in the eaſt, and truſted to the gallantry of its knights as the beſt ſecurity againſt the progreſs of the Ottoman arms; though Adrian, with a zeal which became the head and father of the church, exhorted the contending powers, to forget their private quarrels, and by uniting their arms, to prevent the Infidels from deſtroying a ſociety which did honour to the Chriſtian name; yet ſo violent and implacable was the animoſity of both parties, that, regardleſs of the danger to which they expoſed all Europe, and unmoved by the intreaties of the grand maſter, or the admonitions of the Pope, they ſuffered Solyman to carry on his operations againſt Rhodes without diſturbance. The grand maſter, after incredible efforts of courage, of patience, and of military conduct during a ſiege of ſix months; after ſuſtaining many aſſaults, and diſputing every poſt with amazing obſtinacy, was obliged at laſt to yield to numbers, and having obtained an honourable capitulation from the Sultan, who admired and reſpected his virtue, he ſurrendered the town, which was reduced to a heap

a heap of rubbiſh, and deſtitute of every reſource [m]. Charles and Francis, aſhamed of having occaſioned ſuch a loſs to Chriſtendom by their ambitious conteſts, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater juſtice, imputed it equally to both. The Emperor, by way of reparation, granted the knights of St. John the ſmall iſland of Malta, in which they fixed their reſidence, retaining, though with leſs power and ſplendour, their ancient ſpirit, and implacable enmity to the Infidels.

[m] Fontanus de Bello Rhodio ap. Scard. Script. Rer. German. Vol. ii. p. 88. P. Barre. Hiſt. d'Allem. tom. viii. 57.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK III.

Book III. 1522. Civil war in Caſtile.

CHARLES, having had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing hoſtilities begun between France and England, took leave of Henry, and arrived in Spain on the ſeventeenth of June. He found that country juſt beginning to recover order and ſtrength after the miſeries of a civil war to which it had been expoſed during his abſence; an account of the riſe and progreſs of which, as it was but little connected with the other events which happened in Europe, hath been reſerved to this place.

Inſurrection of Toledo. May, 1520.

No ſooner was it known that the Cortes aſſembled in Galicia had voted the Emperor a *free-gift*, without obtaining the redreſs of any one grievance, than it excited univerſal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who conſidered themſelves, on account of the great privileges which they enjoyed, as guardians of the liberties of the Caſtilian commons, finding that no regard

gard was paid to the remonſtrances of their deputies againſt that unconſtitutional grant, took arms with tumultuary violence, and ſeizing the gates of the city which were fortified, attacked the al-cazar, or caſtle, which they ſoon obliged the governor to ſurrender. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, they deprived of all authority every perſon whom they ſuſpected of any attachment to the court, eſtabliſhed a popular form of government, compoſed of deputies from the ſeveral pariſhes in the city, and levied troops in their own defence. The chief leader of the people in theſe inſurrections was don John de Padilla, the eldeſt ſon of the commendador of Caſtile, a young nobleman of a generous temper, of undaunted courage, and poſſeſſed of the talents as well as of the ambition which, in times of civil diſcord, raiſe men to power and eminence [a].

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The reſentment of the citizens of Segovia produced effects ſtill more fatal. Tordeſillas, one of their repreſentatives in the late Cortes, had voted for the donative; and being a bold and haughty man, ventured, upon his return, to call together his fellow-citizens in the great church, that he might give them, according to cuſtom, an account of his conduct in that aſſembly. But the multitude, unable to bear his inſolence, in attempting to juſtify what they thought inexcuſable, burſt open the gates of the church with the utmoſt fury, and ſeizing the unhappy Tordeſillas, dragged him through the ſtreets, with a thouſand curſes and inſults, towards the place of public execution. In vain did the dean and canons come forth in proceſſion with the holy ſacrament, in order to appeaſe their rage. In vain did the monks of thoſe monaſteries by which they paſſed, conjure them on their

Of Segovia,

[a] Sandov. p. 77.

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their knees to ſpare his life, or at leaſt to allow him time to confeſs, and to receive abſolution of his ſins. Without liſtening to the dictates either of humanity or religion, they cried out, "That the hangman alone could abſolve ſuch a traitor to his country;" they hurried him along with greater violence; and perceiving that he had expired under their hands, they hung him up with his head downwards on the common gibbet [b]. The ſame ſpirit ſeized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora, and ſeveral other cities; and though their repreſentatives, taking warning from the fate of Tordeſillas, had been ſo wiſe as to ſave themſelves by a timely flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houſes razed to the ground, and their effects conſumed with fire; and ſuch was the horror which the people had conceived againſt them as betrayers of the publick liberty, that not one in thoſe licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valuable, which had belonged to them [c].

Meaſures of Adrian, in order to puniſh them. June 5, 1520.

Adrian, at that time regent of Spain, had ſcarcely fixed the ſeat of his government at Valladolid, when he was alarmed with an account of theſe inſurrections. He immediately aſſembled the council to deliberate concerning the proper method of ſuppreſſing them. The counſellors differed in opinion; ſome inſiſting that it was neceſſary to check this audacious ſpirit in its infancy by a ſevere execution of juſtice; others adviſing to treat with lenity a people who had ſome reaſon to be incenſed, and not to drive them beyond all the bounds of duty by an ill-timed rigour. The ſentiments of the former being warmly ſupported by the archbiſhop of Granada, preſident of the council, a perſon of great authority,

[b] P. Mart. Ep. 671. [c] Sand. 103. P. Mart. Ep. 674.

thority, but cholerick and impetuous, were approved of by Adrian, whoſe zeal to ſupport his maſter's authority hurried him into a meaſure, to which, from his natural caution and timidity, he would otherwiſe have been averſe. He commanded Ronquillo, one of the King's judges, to repair inſtantly to Segovia, which had ſet the firſt example of mutiny, and to proceed againſt the delinquents according to law; and leſt the people ſhould be ſo outrageous as to reſiſt his authority, a conſiderable body of troops was appointed to attend him. The Segovians, foreſeeing what they might expect from a judge ſo well known for his auſtere and unforgiving temper, took arms with one conſent, and having muſtered twelve thouſand men, ſhut their gates againſt him. Ronquillo, enraged at this inſult, denounced them rebels and outlaws; and his troops ſeizing all the avenues to the town, hoped that it would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. The inhabitants, however, defended themſelves with vigour, and having received a conſiderable reinforcement from Toledo, under the command of Padilla, attacked Ronquillo, and forced him to retire, with the loſs of his baggage and military cheſt [d].

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His troops repulſed at Segovia,

Upon this Adrian ordered Antonio de Fonſeca, whom the Emperor had appointed commander in chief of the forces in Caſtile, to aſſemble an army, and to beſiege Segovia in form. But the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, where Cardinal Ximenes had eſtabliſhed a vaſt magazine of military ſtores, would not ſuffer him to draw from it a train of battering cannon, or to deſtroy their countrymen with thoſe arms which had been prepared againſt the enemies of the kingdom.

and at Medina del Campo.

[d] Sandov. 112. P. Mart. Ep. 679. Miniana, Contin. p. 15.

Book III. dom. Fonſeca, who could not execute his orders without artillery, determined to ſeize the magazine by force, and the citizens ſtanding on their defence, he aſſaulted the town with great briſkneſs: But his troops were ſo warmly received, that deſpairing of carrying the place, he ſet fire to ſome of the houſes, in hopes that the citizens would abandon the walls, in order to ſave their families and effects. Inſtead of that, the expedient to which he had recourſe ſerved only to increaſe their fury, and he was repulſed with great infamy, while the flames ſpreading from ſtreet to ſtreet, reduced to aſhes almoſt the whole town, one of the moſt conſiderable at that time in Spain, and the great mart for the manufactures of Segovia, and ſeveral other cities. As the warehouſes were then filled with goods for the approaching fair, the loſs was immenſe, and was felt univerſally. This, added to the impreſſion which ſuch a cruel action made on a people long unaccuſtomed to the horrors of civil war, enraged the Caſtilians almoſt to madneſs. Fonſeca became the object of general indignation, and was branded with the name of incendiary, and enemy to his country. Even the citizens of Valladolid, whom the preſence of the cardinal had hitherto reſtrained, declared that they could no longer remain inactive ſpectators of the ſufferings of their countrymen. Taking arms with no leſs fury than the other cities, they burnt Fonſeca's houſe to the ground, elected new magiſtrates, raiſed ſoldiers, appointed officers to command them, and guarded their walls with as much diligence as if an enemy had been ready to attack them.

1522.

August 21.

Adrian diſbands his troops.

THE Cardinal, though virtuous and diſintereſted, and capable of governing the kingdom with honour in times of tranquillity, poſſeſſed neither

neither the courage nor ſagacity neceſſary at ſuch a dangerous juncture. Finding himſelf unable to check theſe outrages committed under his own eye, he attempted to appeaſe the people, by proteſting that Fonſeca had exceeded his orders, and had by his raſh conduct offended him, as much as he had injured them. This condeſcenſion, the effect of irreſolution and timidity, rendered the malecontents bolder and more inſolent; and the Cardinal having ſoon after recalled Fonſeca, and diſmiſſed his troops, which he could no longer afford to pay, as the treaſury, drained by the rapaciouſneſs of the Flemiſh miniſters, had received no ſupply from the great cities, which were all in arms, the people were left at full liberty to act without controul, and ſcarcely any ſhadow of power remained in his hands.

The views and pretenſions of the commons of Caſtile.

Nor were the proceedings of the commons the effects merely of popular and tumultuary rage; they aimed at obtaining redreſs of their political grievances, and an eſtabliſhment of publick liberty on a ſecure baſis, objects worthy of all the zeal which they diſcovered in contending for them. The feudal government in Spain was at that time in a ſtate more favourable to liberty than in any other of the great European kingdoms. This was owing chiefly to the number of great cities in that country, a circumſtance I have already taken notice of, and which contributes more than any other to mitigate the rigour of the feudal inſtitutions, and to introduce a more liberal and equal form of government. The inhabitants of every city formed a great corporation, with valuable immunities and privileges; they were delivered from a ſtate of ſubjection and vaſſalage; they were admitted

Book III. admitted to a conſiderable ſhare in the legiſla-
1522. ture; they acquired the arts of induſtry, without which cities cannot ſubſiſt; they accumulated wealth, by engaging in commerce; and being free and independent themſelves, were the guardians of the publick freedom and independence. The genius of the internal government eſtabliſhed in cities, which even in countries where deſpotick power prevails moſt, is democratical and republican, rendered the idea of liberty familiar and dear to them. Their repreſentatives in the Cortes were accuſtomed, with equal ſpirit, to check the encroachments of the King, and the oppreſſion of the nobles. They endeavoured to extend the privileges of their own order; they laboured to ſhake off the remaining incumbrances, with which the feudal tyranny had burdened them; and conſcious of being one of the moſt conſiderable orders in the ſtate, were ambitious of becoming the moſt powerful.

Their confederacy by the name of the Holy Junta.

The preſent juncture appeared favourable for puſhing any new claim. Their ſovereign was abſent from his dominions; by the ill-conduct of his miniſters he had loſt the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects; the people exaſperated by many injuries had taken arms, though without concert, almoſt by general conſent; they were animated with rage capable of carrying them to the moſt violent extremes; the royal treaſury was exhauſted; the kingdom deſtitute of troops; and the government committed to a ſtranger, of great virtue indeed, but of abilities unequal to ſuch a truſt. The firſt care of Padilla, and the other popular leaders who obſerved and determined to improve theſe circumſtances, was to eſtabliſh ſome form of union or aſſociation among the malecontents, that they might act with greater

greater regularity, and purſue one common end; and as the different cities had been prompted to take arms by the ſame motives, and were accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct body from the reſt of the ſubjects, they did not find this difficult. A general convention was appointed to be held at Avila. Deputies appeared there in name of almoſt all the cities entitled to have repreſentatives in the Cortes. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oath, to live and die in the ſervice of the King, and in defence of the privileges of their order; and aſſuming the name of the holy *Junta* or aſſociation, proceeded to deliberate concerning the ſtate of the nation, and the proper method of redreſſing its grievances. The firſt that naturally preſented itſelf, was the nomination of a foreigner to be regent; this they declared with one voice to be a violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and reſolved to ſend a deputation of their members to Adrian, requiring him in their name to lay aſide all the enſigns of his office, and to abſtain for the future from the exerciſe of a juriſdiction which they had pronounced illegal [e].

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They diſclaim Adrian's authority.

WHILE they were preparing to execute this bold reſolution, Padilla accompliſhed an enterprize of the greateſt advantage to the cauſe. After relieving Segovia, he marched ſuddenly to Tordeſillas, the place where the unhappy Queen Joanna had reſided ſince the death of her huſband, and being favoured by the inhabitants, was admitted into the town, and became maſter of her perſon, for the ſecurity of which Adrian had neglected to take proper precautions [f]. Padilla waited immediately upon the Queen, and accoſting her with

Get poſſeſſion of queen Joanna.

Auguſt 29.

[e] P. Mart. Ep. 691. [f] Vita dell' Imper. Carl V. dall Alf. Ulloa. Ven. 1509 p. 67. Miniana, Contin. p. 17.

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with that profound reſpect, which ſhe exacted from the few perſons whom ſhe deigned to admit into her preſence, acquainted her at large with the miſerable condition of her Caſtilian ſubjects under the government of her ſon, who being deſtitute of experience himſelf, permitted his foreign miniſters to treat them with ſuch rigour, as had obliged them to take arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The Queen, as if ſhe had been awakened out of a lethargy, expreſſed great aſtoniſhment at what he ſaid, and told him, that as ſhe had never heard, till that moment, of the death of her father, or known the ſufferings of her people, no blame could be imputed to her, but that now ſhe would take care to provide a ſufficient remedy; and in the mean time, added ſhe, let it be your concern to do what is neceſſary for the publick welfare. Padilla, too eager in forming a concluſion agreeable to his wiſhes, miſtook this lucid interval of reaſon for a perfect return of that faculty; and acquainting the Junta with what had happened, adviſed them to remove to Tordeſillas, and to hold their meetings in that place. This was inſtantly done; but though Joanna received very graciouſly an addreſs of the Junta, beſeeching her to take upon her the government of the kingdom, and in token of her compliance, admitted all the deputies to kiſs her hand; though ſhe was preſent at a tournament held on that occaſion, and ſeemed highly ſatisfied with both theſe ceremonies, which were conducted with great magnificence in order to pleaſe her, ſhe ſoon relapſed into her former melancholy and ſullenneſs, and could never be brought, by any arguments or intreaties, to ſign any one paper neceſſary towards the diſpatch of buſineſs [g].

THE

[g] Sandov. 164. P. Mart. Ep. 685, 686.

1522.

THE Junta concealing as much as poſſible this laſt circumſtance, carried on all their deliberations in her name; and as the Caſtilians, who idolized the memory of Iſabella, retained a wonderful attachment to her daughter, no ſooner was it known that ſhe had conſented to aſſume the reins of government, than the people expreſſed the moſt univerſal and immoderate joy; and believing her recovery to be compleat, aſcribed it to a miraculous interpoſition of heaven, in order to reſcue their country from the oppreſſion of foreigners. The Junta, conſcious of the reputation and power which they had acquired by ſeeming to act under the royal authority, were no longer ſatisfied with requiring Adrian to reſign the office of regent; they detached Padilla to Valladolid with a conſiderable body of troops, ordering him to ſeize ſuch members of the council as were ſtill in that city, to conduct them to Tordeſillas, and to bring away the ſeals of the kingdom, the publick archives, and treaſury books. Padilla, who was received by the citizens as the deliverer of his country, executed his commiſſion with great exactneſs; permitting Adrian, however, ſtill to reſide in Valladolid, though only as a private perſon, and without any ſhadow of power [h].

Carry on government in her name and deprive Adrian of all power.

THE Emperor, to whom frequent accounts of theſe tranſactions were tranſmitted while he was ſtill in Flanders, was ſenſible of his own imprudence and that of his miniſters, in having deſpiſed too long the murmurs and remonſtrances of the Caſtilians. He beheld, with deep concern, a kingdom, the moſt valuable of any he poſſeſſed, and in which lay the ſtrength and ſinews of his power, juſt ready to diſown his

The emperor alarmed.

 authority,

[h] Sandof. 174. P. Mart. Ep. 791.

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authority, and on the point of being plunged in all the miſeries of civil war. But though his preſence might have averted this calamity, he could not, at that time, viſit Spain without endangering the Imperial crown, and allowing the French King full leiſure to execute his ambitious ſchemes. The only point now to be deliberated upon, was whether he ſhould attempt to gain the malecontents by indulgence and conceſſions, or prepare directly to ſuppreſs them by force; and he reſolved to make trial of the former, while, at the ſame time, if that ſhould fail of ſucceſs, he prepared for the latter. For this purpoſe, he iſſued circular letters to all the cities of Caſtile, exhorting them in moſt gentle terms, and with aſſurances of full pardon, to lay down their arms; he promiſed ſuch cities as had continued faithful, not to exact from them the ſubſidy granted in the late Cortes, and offered the ſame favour to ſuch as returned to their duty; he engaged that no office ſhould be conferred for the future upon any but native Caſtilians. On the other hand, he wrote to the nobles, exciting them to appear with vigour in defence of their own rights, and thoſe of the crown, againſt the exorbitant claims of the commons; he appointed the high admiral, Don Fadrique Enriquez, and the high conſtable of Caſtile, Don Inigo de Velaſco, two noblemen of great abilities as well as influence, regents of the kingdom in conjunction with Adrian; and he gave them full power and inſtructions, if the obſtinacy of the malecontents ſhould render it neceſſary, to vindicate the royal authority by force of arms [i].

His meaſures with reſpect to the malecontents.

THESE

[i] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 188.

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The large remonſtrance of the Junta concerning their grievances.

THESE conceſſions, which, at the time of his leaving Spain, would have fully ſatisfied the people, came now too late to produce any effect. The Junta, relying on the unanimity with which the nation ſubmitted to their authority, elated with the ſucceſs which hitherto had accompanied all their undertakings, and ſeeing no military force collected to defeat or obſtruct their deſigns, aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abuſes. They had been employed for ſome time in preparing a remonſtrance, containing a large enumeration not only of the grievances, of which they craved redreſs, but of ſuch new regulations as they thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of their liberties. This remonſtrance, which is divided into many articles relating to all the different members of which the conſtitution was compoſed, as well as to the various departments in the adminiſtration of government, furniſhes us with more authentick evidence concerning the intentions of the Junta, than can be drawn from the teſtimony of the later Spaniſh hiſtorians, who lived in times when it became faſhionable and even neceſſary to repreſent the conduct of the malecontents in the worſt light, and as flowing from the worſt motives. After a long preamble concerning the various calamities under which the nation groaned, and the errors and corruption in government to which theſe were to be imputed, they take notice of the exemplary patience wherewith the people had endured them, until ſelf-preſervation, and the duty which they owed to their country, had obliged them to aſſemble, in order to provide in a legal manner for their own ſafety, and that of the conſtitution: For this purpoſe, they demanded that the King would be pleaſed to return to his Spaniſh dominions, and

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and reſide there, as all their former monarchs had done; that he would not marry but with conſent of the Cortes; that if he ſhould be obliged at any time to leave the kingdom, it ſhall not be lawful to appoint any foreigner to be regent; that the preſent nomination of Cardinal Adrian to that office ſhall inſtantly be declared void; that he would not, at his return, bring along with him any Flemings or other ſtrangers; that no foreign troops ſhall, on any pretence whatever, be introduced into the kingdom; that none but natives ſhall be capable of holding any office or benefice either in church or ſtate; that no foreigner ſhall be naturalized; that free quarters ſhall not be granted to ſoldiers, nor to the members of the King's houſehold, for any longer time than ſix days, and that only when the court is in a progreſs; that all the taxes ſhall be reduced to the ſame ſtate they were in at the death of Queen Iſabella; that all alienations of the royal demeſnes or revenues ſince that Queen's death ſhall be reſumed; that all new offices created ſince that period ſhall be aboliſhed; that the ſubſidy granted by the late Cortes in Galicia ſhall not be exacted; that in all future Cortes each city ſhall ſend one repreſentative of the clergy, one of the gentry, and one of the commons, each to be elected by his own order; that the crown ſhall not influence or direct any city with regard to the choice of its repreſentatives; that no member of the Cortes ſhall receive an office or penſion from the King, either for himſelf or for any of his family, under pain of death, and confiſcation of his goods; that each city or community ſhall pay a competent ſalary to its repreſentative for his maintenance during his attendance on the Cortes; that the Cortes ſhall aſſemble once in three years at leaſt, whether ſummoned by the King

King or not, and ſhall then enquire into the obſervation of the articles now agreed upon, and deliberate concerning publick affairs; that the rewards which have been given or promiſed to any of the members of the Cortes in Galicia, ſhall be revoked; that no gold, ſilver, or jewels, ſhall, upon pain of death, be ſent out of the kingdom; that judges ſhall have fixed ſalaries aſſigned them, and ſhall not receive any ſhare of the fines and forfeitures of perſons condemned by them; that no grant of the goods of perſons accuſed ſhall be valid, if given before ſentence was pronounced againſt them; that all privileges which the nobles have at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons, ſhall be revoked; that the government of cities or towns ſhall not be put into the hands of noblemen; that the poſſeſſions of the nobility ſhall be ſubject to all publick taxes in the ſame manner as thoſe of the commons; that an enquiry be made into the conduct of ſuch as have been entruſted with the management of the royal patrimony ſince the acceſſion of Ferdinand; and if the King do not within thirty days appoint perſons properly qualified for that ſervice, it ſhall be lawful for the Cortes to nominate them; that Indulgences ſhall not be preached or diſperſed in the kingdom until the cauſe of publiſhing them be examined and approved of by the Cortes; that all the money ariſing from the ſale of Indulgences, ſhall be faithfully employed in carrying on war againſt the Infidels; that ſuch prelates as do not reſide in their dioceſes ſix months in the year, ſhall forfeit their revenues during the time they are abſent; that the eccleſiaſtical judges and their officers ſhall not exact greater fees than thoſe which are paid in the ſecular courts; that the preſent archbiſhop of Toledo being a foreigner, be

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be compelled to reſign that dignity, which ſhall be conferred upon a Caſtilian; that the King ſhall ratify and hold as good ſervice done to him and to the kingdom, all the proceedings of the Junta, and pardon any irregularities which the cities may have committed from an exceſs of zeal in a good cauſe: That he ſhall promiſe and ſwear in the moſt ſolemn manner to obſerve all theſe articles, and on no occaſion attempt either to elude, or to repeal them; and that he ſhall never ſolicit the Pope or any other prelate to grant him a diſpenſation or abſolution from this oath and promiſe [k].

The ſpirit of liberty which it breathed.

SUCH were the chief articles preſented by the Junta to their ſovereign. As the feudal inſtitutions in the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe were originally the ſame, the genius of thoſe governments which aroſe from them bore a ſtrong reſemblance to each other, and the regulations which the Caſtilians attempted to eſtabliſh on this occaſion, differ little from thoſe which other nations have laboured to procure in their ſtruggles with their monarchs for liberty. The grievances complained of, and the remedies propoſed by the Engliſh commons in their conteſts with the princes of the houſe of Stuart, particularly reſemble thoſe upon which the Junta now inſiſted. But the principles of liberty ſeem to have been better underſtoood at this period, by the Caſtilians, than by any other people in Europe; they had acquired more liberal ideas with reſpect to their own rights and privileges; they had formed more bold and generous ſentiments concerning government; and diſcovered an extent of political knowledge to which the Engliſh themſelves did not attain until more than a century afterwards.

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[k] Sandov. 206. P. Mart. Ep. 686.

1522.

It is not improbable, however, that the ſpirit of reformation among the Caſtilians, hitherto unreſtrained by authority, and emboldened by ſucceſs, became too impetuous, and prompted the Junta to propoſe innovations which, by alarming the other members of the conſtitution, proved fatal to their cauſe. The nobles, who, inſtead of obſtructing, had favoured or connived at their proceedings, while they confined their demands of redreſs to ſuch grievances as had been occaſioned by the King's want of experience, and by the imprudence and rapaciouſneſs of his foreign miniſters, were filled with indignation when they began to touch the privileges of their order, and plainly ſaw that the meaſures of the commons tended no leſs to break the power of the ariſtocracy, than to limit the prerogatives of the crown. The reſentment which they had conceived on account of Adrian's promotion to the regency, abated conſiderably upon the Emperor's raiſing the conſtable and admiral to joint power with him in that office; and as their pride and dignity were leſs hurt by ſuffering the prince to poſſeſs an extenſive prerogative, than by admitting the high pretenſions of the people, they determined to give their ſovereign the aſſiſtance which he had demanded of them, and began to aſſemble their vaſſals for that purpoſe.

Irritates the nobles.

The Junta, meanwhile, expected with impatience the Emperor's anſwer to their remonſtrance, which they had appointed ſome of their number to preſent. The members entruſted with this commiſſion ſet out immediately for Germany; but having received at different places certain intelligence from court, that they could not venture to appear there without endangering their lives, they ſtopt ſhort in their journey, and

The deputies of the Junta dare not preſent their remonſtrance. Oct. 20.

Book III. 1522. and acquainted the Junta of the information which had been given them [l]. This excited ſuch violent paſſions as tranſported the whole party beyond all bounds of prudence, or of moderation. That a Caſtilian King ſhould deny his ſubjects acceſs into his preſence, or refuſe to liſten to their humble petitions, was repreſented as an act of tyranny ſo unprecedented and intolerable, that nothing now remained but with arms in their hands to drive away that ravenous band of foreigners which encompaſſed the throne, who after having devoured the wealth of the kingdom, found it neceſſary to prevent the cries of an injured people from reaching the ears of their ſovereign. Many inſiſted warmly on approving a motion which had formerly been made, for depriving Charles, during the life of his mother, of the regal titles and authority which had been too raſhly conferred upon him from a falſe ſuppoſition of her total inability for government. Some propoſed to provide a proper perſon to aſſiſt her in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, by marrying the Queen to the Prince of Calabria, the heir of the Aragoneſe Kings of Naples, who had been detained in priſon ſince the time that Ferdinand had diſpoſſed his anceſtors of their crown. All agreed that, as the hopes of obtaining redreſs and ſecurity merely by preſenting their requeſts to their ſovereign, had kept them too long in a ſtate of inaction, and prevented them from taking advantage of the unanimity with which the nation declared in their favour, it was now neceſſary to collect their whole force, and to exert themſelves with vigour, in oppoſing this fatal combination of the King and nobles againſt their liberties [m].

Violent propoſitions of the Junta.

THEY

[l] Sandov. 143. [m] P. Mart. Ep. 688.

1522.

THEY ſoon took the field with twenty thouſand men. Violent diſputes aroſe concerning the command of this army. Padilla, the darling of the people and ſoldiers, was the only perſon whom they thought worthy of this honour. But Don Pedro de Giron, the eldeſt ſon of the Condè de Uruena, a young nobleman of the firſt order, having lately joined the commons out of private reſentment againſt the Emperor, the reſpect due to his birth, together with a ſecret deſire of diſappointing Padilla, of whoſe popularity many members of the Junta had become jealous, procured him the office of general; though he ſoon gave them a fatal proof that he poſſeſſed neither the experience, the abilities, nor the ſteadineſs which that important ſtation required.

Take the field.

November 23.

THE regents, meanwhile, appointed Rioſeco as the place of rendezvous for their troops, which, though far inferior to thoſe of the commons in number, excelled them greatly in diſcipline and in valour. They had drawn a conſiderable body of regular and veteran infantry out of Navarre. Their cavalry, which formed the chief ſtrength of their army, conſiſted moſtly of gentlemen accuſtomed to the military life, and animated with the martial ſpirit peculiar to their order in that age. The infantry of the Junta was formed entirely of citizens and mechanicks, little acquainted with the uſe of arms. The ſmall body of cavalry which they had been able to raiſe, was compoſed of perſons of ignoble birth, and perfect ſtrangers to the ſervice into which they entered. The character of the generals differed no leſs than that of their troops. The royaliſts were commanded by the Condè de Haro, the conſtable's eldeſt

The regents and nobles arm.

Book III. 1522. eldeſt ſon, an officer of great experience, and of diſtinguiſhed abilities.

Imprudence and ill ſucceſs of the general of the Junta.

Giron marched with his army directly to Rioſeco, and ſeizing the villages and paſſes around it, hoped that the royaliſts would be obliged either to ſurrender for want of proviſions, or to fight with diſadvantage before all their troops were aſſembled. But he had not the abilities, nor his troops the patience and diſcipline neceſſary for the execution of ſuch a ſcheme. The Condè de Haro found little difficulty in conducting a conſiderable reinforcement through all his poſts into the town; and Giron deſpairing of being able to reduce it, advanced ſuddenly to Villa-panda, a place belonging to the Conſtable, in which the enemy had their chief magazine of proviſions. By this ill-judged motion, he left Tordeſillas open to the royaliſts, whom the Condè
Decemb. 5. de Haro led thither in the night, with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch; and attacking the town, in which Giron had left no other garriſon than a regiment of prieſts raiſed by the biſhop of Zamora, he, by break of day, forced his way into it, after a deſperate reſiſtance, became maſter of the Queen's perſon, took priſoners many members of the Junta, and recovered the great ſeal, with the other enſigns of government.

By this fatal blow the Junta loſt all the reputation and authority which they derived from ſeeming to act by the Queen's commands; ſuch of the nobles as had hitherto been wavering or undetermined in their choice, now joined the regents with all their forces; and an univerſal conſternation ſeized the partizans of the commons. This was much increaſed by the ſuſpicions they began to entertain of Giron, whom they loudly accuſed

accuſed of having betrayed Tordeſillas to the enemy; and though that charge ſeems to have been deſtitute of foundation, the ſucceſs of the royaliſts being owing to Giron's ill-conduct rather than to his treachery, he ſo entirely loſt credit with his party, that he reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to one of his caſtles [n]. Book III. 1522.

The Junta adhere to their ſyſtem.

Such members of the Junta as had eſcaped the enemy's hands at Tordeſillas, fled to Valladolid; and as it would have required long time to ſupply the places of thoſe who were priſoners by a new election, they made choice among themſelves of a ſmall number of perſons, to whom they committed the ſupreme direction of affairs. Their army, which grew ſtronger every day by the arrival of troops from different parts of the kingdom, marched likewiſe to Valladolid; and Padilla being appointed commander in chief, the ſpirits of the ſoldiery revived, and the whole party forgetting the late misfortune, continued to expreſs the ſame ardent zeal for the liberties of their country, and the ſame implacable animoſity againſt their oppreſſors.

Their expedients for raiſing money.

What they ſtood moſt in need of, was money to pay their troops. A great part of the current coin had been carried out of the kingdom by the Flemings; the ſtated taxes levied in times of peace were inconſiderable; commerce of every kind being interrupted by the war, the ſum which they yielded decreaſed daily; and the Junta were afraid of diſguſting the people by burdening them with new impoſitions, to which, in that age, they were little accuſtomed. But from this difficulty

[n] Miſcellaneous Tracts by Dr. Mich. Geddes, vol. i. p. 278.

Book III. 1522.

ficulty they were extricated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's wife, a woman of noble birth, of great abilities, of boundleſs ambition, and animated with the moſt ardent zeal in ſupport of the cauſe of the Junta. She, with a boldneſs ſuperior to thoſe ſuperſtitious fears which often influence her ſex, propoſed to ſeize all the rich and magnificent ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; but leſt that action, by its appearance of impiety, might offend the people, ſhe and her retinue marched to the church in ſolemn proceſſion, in mourning habits, with tears in their eyes, beating their breaſts, and falling on their knees, implored the pardon of the ſaints whoſe ſhrines ſhe was about to violate. By this artifice, which ſcreened her from the imputation of ſacrilege, and perſuaded the people that neceſſity and zeal for a good cauſe had conſtrained her, though with reluctance, to venture upon this action, ſhe procured a conſiderable ſupply of money for the Junta [o]. The regents, no leſs at a loſs how to maintain their troops, the revenues of the crown having either been diſſipated by the Flemings, or ſeized by the commons, were obliged to take the Queen's jewels, together with the plate belonging to the nobility, and apply them to that purpoſe; and when theſe failed, they obtained a ſmall ſum, by way of loan, from the King of Portugal [p].

Loſe time in negociations with the nobility.

THE nobility diſcovered great unwillingneſs to proceed to extremities with the Junta. They were animated with no leſs hatred than the commons againſt the Flemings; they approved much of ſeveral articles in the remonſtrance; they

[o] Sandov. p. 308. Dict. de Bayle, Art. Padilla.
[p] P. Mart. Ep. 718.

they thought the juncture favourable, not only for redreſſing paſt grievances, but for rendering the conſtitution more perfect and ſecure by new regulations; they were afraid, that while the two orders of which the legiſlature was compoſed, waſted each other's ſtrength by mutual hoſtilities, the crown would riſe to power on the ruin or weakneſs of both, and encroach no leſs on the independence of the nobles, than on the privileges of the commons. To this diſpoſition were owing the frequent overtures of peace which the regents made to the Junta, and the continual negociations they carried on during the progreſs of their military operations. Nor were the terms which they offered unreaſonable; for on condition that the Junta would paſs from a few articles moſt ſubverſive of the royal authority, or inconſiſtent with the rights of the nobility, they engaged to procure the Emperor's conſent to their other demands, which, if he, through the influence of evil counſellors, ſhould refuſe, ſeveral of the nobles promiſed to join with them in order to extort it [9]. Such diviſions, however, prevailed among the members of the Junta, as prevented their deliberating calmly, or judging with prudence. Several of the cities which had entered into the confederacy, were filled with that mean jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, which rivalſhip in commerce or in grandeur is apt to inſpire; the conſtable, by his influence and promiſes, had prevailed on the inhabitants of Burgos to abandon the Junta, and other noblemen had ſhaken the fidelity of ſome of the leſſer cities; no perſon had ariſen among the commons of ſuch ſuperior abilities or elevation of mind, as to require the direction of their affairs. Padilla, their general, was a man of popular

9 P. Mart. Ep. 695, 713. Geddes's Tracts, i. 261.

Book III. popular qualities, but diſtruſted for that reaſon by thoſe of higheſt rank who adhered to the Junta; the conduct of Giron led the people to view with ſuſpicion every perſon of noble birth who joined their party; ſo that the ſtrongeſt marks of irreſolution, mutual diſtruſt, and mediocrity of genius, appeared in all their proceedings at this time. After many conſultations held concerning the terms propoſed by the regents, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo carried away by reſentment againſt the nobility, that rejecting all thoughts of accommodation, they threatened to ſtrip them of the crown-lands, which they or their anceſtors had uſurped, and to re-annex theſe to the royal domain. Upon this prepoſterous ſcheme, which would at once have annihilated all the liberties for which they had been ſtruggling, by rendering the kings of Caſtile abſolute and independent on their ſubjects, they were ſo intent, that they now exclaimed with leſs vehemence againſt the exactions of the foreign miniſters, than againſt the immenſe power and wealth of the nobles, and ſeemed to hope that they might make peace with Charles, by offering to enrich him with their ſpoils.

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Elated with their ſucceſs in ſome ſmall rencounters.

THE ſucceſs which Padilla had met with in ſeveral ſmall encounters, and in reducing ſome inconſiderable towns, helped to precipitate the members of the Junta into this meaſure, filling them with ſuch confidence in the valour of their troops, that they hoped for an eaſy victory over the royaliſts. Padilla, that his army might not remain inactive, while flushed with good fortune, laid ſiege to Torrelobaton, a place of greater ſtrength and importance than any that he had hitherto attacked, and which was defended by a ſufficient garriſon; and though the beſieged

beſieged made a deſperate reſiſtance, and the admiral attempted to relieve them, he took the town by ſtorm, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. If he had marched inſtantly with his victorious army to Tordeſillas, the head-quarters of the royaliſts, he could hardly have failed of making an effectual impreſſion on their troops, ſurprized at the briſkneſs of his operations, and far from being of ſufficient ſtrength to give him battle. But the fickleneſs and imprudence of the Junta prevented his taking this ſtep. Incapable, like all popular aſſociations, either of carrying on war, or of making peace, they liſtened again to overtures of accommodation, and even agreed to a ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms. This negociation terminated in nothing; but while it was carrying on, many of Padilla's ſoldiers, unacquainted with the reſtraints of diſcipline, went off with the booty which they had got at Torrelobaton; and others, wearied out by the unuſual length of the campaign, deſerted [r]. The conſtable too had leiſure to aſſemble his forces at Burgos, and to prepare every thing for marching; and as ſoon as the truce expired, he effected a junction with the Condè de Haro, in ſpite of all Padilla's efforts to prevent it. They advanced immediately towards Torrelobaton; and Padilla finding the number of his troops ſo diminiſhed that he durſt not riſk a battle, attempted to retreat to Toro, which if he could have accompliſhed, the invaſion of Navarre at that juncture by the French, and the neceſſity which the regents muſt have been under of detaching men to that kingdom, might have ſaved him from danger. But Haro, ſenſible how fatal would be the conſequences of ſuffering him to eſcape, marched with ſuch rapidity at the head of his cavalry, that he

Book III. 1522. March 3, 1521.

Imprudence of their conduct.

The nobles attack the army of the Junta, April 23,

 came

[r] Sandov. 336.

Book III 1522. came up with him near Villalar, and without waiting for his infantry, advanced to the attack. Padilla's army, fatigued and diſheartened by their precipitant retreat, which they could not diſtinguiſh from a flight, happened at that time to be paſſing over a ploughed field, on which ſuch a violent rain had fallen, that the ſoldiers ſunk almoſt to the knees at every ſtep, and remained expoſed to the fire of ſome field-pieces which the royaliſts had brought along with them. All theſe circumſtances ſo diſconcerted and intimidated raw ſoldiers, that without facing the enemy, or making any reſiſtance, they fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Padilla exerted himſelf with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, though in vain; fear rendering them deaf both to his threats and intreaties: Upon which, finding matters irretrievable, and reſolving not to ſurvive the diſgrace of that day, and the ruin of his party, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy; but being wounded and diſmounted, he was taken priſoner. His principal officers ſhared the ſame fate; the common ſoldiers were allowed to depart unhurt; the nobles being too generous to kill men who threw down their arms [s].

and defeat it.

The reſentment of his enemies did not ſuffer Padilla to linger long in expectation of what ſhould befal him. Next day he was condemned to loſe his head, though without any regular trial, the notoriety of the crime being ſuppoſed ſufficient to ſuperſede the formality of a legal proceſs.

[s] Sandov. 345, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 720. Miniana. Contin. p. 26. Epitome de la vida y Hechos del Emper. Carlos V. por D. Juan. Anton. de Vera y Zuniga, 4to. Madr. 1627. p. 19.

1522. Padilla, their general, put to death.

proceſs. He was led inſtantly to execution, together with Don John Bravo, and Don Francis Maldonada, the former commander of the Segovians, and the latter of the troops of Salamanca. Padilla viewed the approach of death with calm but undaunted fortitude; and when Bravo, his fellow-ſufferer, expreſſed ſome indignation at hearing himſelf proclaimed a traitor, he checked him, by obſerving, "That yeſterday was the time to have diſplayed the ſpirit of gentlemen, this day to die with the meekneſs of Chriſtians." Being permitted to write to his wife and to the community of Toledo, the place of his nativity, he addreſſed the former with a manly and virtuous tenderneſs, and the latter with the exultation natural to one who conſidered himſelf as a martyr for the liberties of his country [t]. After this,

[t] The ſtrain of theſe letters is ſo eloquent and high-ſpirited, that I have tranſlated them for the entertainment of my readers.

The Letter of Don John Padilla to his Wife.

SENORA,

"IF your grief did not afflict me more than my own death, I ſhould deem myſelf perfectly happy. For the end of life being certain to all men, the Almighty confers a mark of diſtinguiſhing favour upon that perſon, for whom he appoints a death ſuch as mine, which, though lamented by many, is nevertheleſs acceptable unto him. It would require more time than I now have, to write any thing that could afford you conſolation. That my enemies will not grant me, nor do I wiſh to delay the reception of that crown which I hope to enjoy. You may bewail your own loſs, but not my death, which, being ſo honourable, ought not to be lamented by any. My ſoul (for nothing elſe is left to me) I bequeath to you. You will receive it, as the thing in this world which you valued moſt. I do not write to my father Pero Lopez, becauſe I dare not; for though I have ſhewn myſelf to be his ſon in daring to loſe my life, I have not been the heir of his good fortune. I will not attempt to ſay any thing more, that I may not tire the executioner, who waits for me, and that I may not excite

Book III. this, he ſubmitted quietly to his fate. Moſt of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, accuſtomed to ideas of government, and of regal power, very different from thoſe upon which he acted, have been ſo eager to teſtify their diſapprobation of the cauſe in which he was engaged, that they have neglected, or have been afraid to do juſtice to his virtues; and by blackening his memory, have endeavoured to deprive him of that pity, which is ſeldom denied to illuſtrious ſufferers.

1522.

THE

a ſuſpicion, that, in order to prolong my life, I lengthen out my letter. My ſervant Soſſa, an eye-witneſs, and to whom I have communicated my moſt ſecret thoughts, will inform you of what I cannot now write; and thus I reſt, expecting the inſtrument of your grief, and of my deliverance."

His Letter to the City of Toledo.

"To thee, the crown of Spain, and light of the whole world, free from the time of the mighty Goths; to thee, who by ſhedding the blood of ſtrangers, as well as thy own blood, haſt recovered liberty for thyſelf, and thy neighbouring cities; thy legitimate ſon Juan de Padilla gives information, how by the blood of his body, thy ancient victories are to be refreſhed. If fate hath not permitted my actions to be placed among your ſucceſsful and celebrated exploits, the fault hath been in my ill fortune, not in my good will. This I requeſt of thee, as of a mother, to accept, ſince God hath given me nothing more to loſe for thy ſake, than that which I am now to relinquiſh. I am more ſolicitous about thy good opinion than about my own life. The ſhiftings of fortune, which never ſtands ſtill, are many. But this I ſee with infinite conſolation, that I, the leaſt of thy children, ſuffer death for thee; and that thou haſt nurſed at thy breaſts ſuch as may take vengeance for my wrongs. Many tongues will relate the manner of my death, of which I am ſtill ignorant, though I know it to be near. My end will teſtify what was my deſire. My ſoul I recommend to thee, as to the patroneſs of Chriſtianity. Of my body I ſay nothing, for it is not mine. I can write nothing more, for at this very moment I feel the knife at my throat with greater dread of thy diſpleaſure, than apprehenſion of my own pain." Sandov. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 478.

1522.

THE victory at Villalar proved as deciſive as it was compleat. Valladolid, the moſt zealous of all the aſſociated cities, opened its gates immediately to the conquerors, and being treated with great clemency by the regents, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and many other towns, followed its example. This ſudden diſſolution of a confederacy, formed not upon ſlight diſguſts, or upon trifling motives, into which the whole body of the people had entered, and which had been allowed time to acquire ſome degree of order and conſiſtence by eſtabliſhing a regular plan of government, is the ſtrongeſt proof of the inability of its leaders, or of ſome ſecret diſcord reigning among its members. Though part of the army by which they had been ſubdued, was obliged, a few days after the battle, to march towards Navarre, in order to check the progreſs of the French in that kingdom, nothing could prevail on the dejected commons of Caſtile to take arms again, and to embrace ſuch a favourable opportunity of acquiring thoſe rights and privileges for which they had appeared ſo zealous. The city of Toledo alone, animated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's widow, who, inſtead of bewailing her huſband with a womaniſh ſorrow, prepared to revenge his death, and to proſecute that cauſe in defence of which he had ſuffered, muſt be excepted. Reſpect for her ſex, or admiration of her courage and abilities, as well as ſympathy with her misfortunes, and veneration for the memory of her huſband, ſecured her the ſame aſcendant over the people which he had poſſeſſed. The prudence and vigour with which ſhe acted, juſtified that confidence they placed in her. She wrote to the French general in Navarre, encouraging him to invade Caſtile, by the offer of powerful aſſiſtance. She endeavoured, by her letters and emiſſaries,

Ruin of the party.

Padilla's wife defends Toledo with great ſpirit.

Book III. 1522. emiſſaries, to revive the ſpirit and hopes of other cities. She raiſed ſoldiers, and exacted a great ſum from the clergy belonging to the cathedral, to defray the expence of keeping them on foot [u]. She employed every artifice that could intereſt or inflame the populace. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered crucifixes to be uſed by her troops inſtead of colours, as if they had been at war with infidels, and enemies of religion; ſhe marched through the ſtreets of Toledo with her ſon, a young child, clad in deep mourning, ſeated on a mule, having a ſtandard carried before him, repreſenting the manner of his father's execution [x]. By all theſe means ſhe kept the minds of the people in ſuch perpetual agitation as prevented their paſſions from ſubſiding, and rendered them inſenſible of the dangers to which they were expoſed, by ſtanding alone in oppoſition to the royal authority. While the army was employed in Navarre, the Regents were unable to attempt the reduction of Toledo by force; and all their endeavours either to diminiſh Donna Maria's credit with the people, or to gain her by large promiſes and the ſolicitations of her brother the Marquis de Mondeiar, proved ineffectual. Upon the expulſion of the French out of Navarre, part of the army returned into Caſtile, and inveſted Toledo. Even this made no impreſſion on the intrepid and obſtinate courage of Donna Maria. She defended the town with vigour, her troops beat the Royaliſts in ſeveral ſallies, and no progreſs was made towards reducing the place, until the clergy, whom ſhe had highly offended by invading their property, ceaſed to ſupport her. As ſoon as they received information of the death of William de Croy archbiſhop of Toledo, whoſe

[u] P. Mart. Ep. 727. [x] Sandov. 375.

whoſe poſſeſſion of that ſee was their chief grievance, and that the Emperor had named a Caſtilian to ſucceed him, they openly turned againſt her, and perſuaded the people that ſhe had acquired ſuch influence over them by the force of enchantments; that ſhe was aſſiſted by a familiar demon, which attended her in the form of a Negro-maid; and that by its ſuggeſtions ſhe regulated every part of her conduct [y]. The credulous multitude, whom their impatience of a long blockade, and deſpair of obtaining ſuccours either from the cities formerly in confederacy with them, or from the French, rendered deſirous of peace, took arms againſt her, and driving her out of the city, ſurrendered it to the Royaliſts. She retired to the citadel, which ſhe defended with amazing fortitude four months longer; and when reduced to the laſt extremities, ſhe made her eſcape in diſguiſe, and fled to Portugal, where ſhe had many relations [z]. Book III. 1522. October 26. Feb. 10, 1522.

Upon her flight, the citadel ſurrendered. Tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in Caſtile; and this bold attempt of the commons, like all unſucceſsful inſurrections, contributed to confirm and extend the power of the crown, which it was intended to moderate and abridge. The Cortes ſtill continued to make a part of the Caſtilian conſtitution, and were ſummoned to meet whenever the King ſtood in need of money; but inſtead of adhering to their ancient and cautious form of examining and redreſſing publick grievances, before they proceeded to grant any ſupply, the more courtly cuſtom of voting a donative in the firſt place was introduced; and the Sovereign having obtained all that he wanted, never Fatal effects of this civil war.

y P. Mart. Ep. 727. Ep. 754. Ferrer. viii. 563.

z Sandov. 375. P. Mart.

Book III. never allowed them to enter into any inquiry, or to attempt any reformation injurious to his authority. The privileges which the cities had enjoyed were gradually circumſcribed or aboliſhed; their commerce began from this period to decline; and becoming leſs wealthy and leſs populous, they loſt that power and influence which they had acquired in the Cortes.

1522.

The progreſs of the inſurrections in Valencia.

While Caſtile was expoſed to the calamities of civil war, the kingdom of Valencia was torn by inteſtine commotions ſtill more violent. The aſſociation which had been formed in the city of Valencia in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty, and which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Germanada, continued to ſubſiſt after the Emperor's departure from Spain; and the members of it, upon pretexts of defending the coaſts againſt the deſcents of the Corſairs of Barbary, and under ſanction of that permiſſion, which Charles had raſhly granted them, refuſed to lay down their arms. But as the grievances which the Valencians aimed at redreſſing, proceeded from the arrogance and exactions of the nobility, rather than from any unwarrantable exerciſe of the royal prerogative, their reſentment turned chiefly againſt the former. As ſoon as they were allowed the uſe of arms, and became conſcious of their own ſtrength, they grew impatient to take vengeance of their oppreſſors. They drove the nobles out of moſt of the cities, plundered their houſes, waſted their lands, and aſſaulted their caſtles. They then proceeded to elect thirteen perſons, one from each company of tradeſmen eſtabliſhed in Valencia, and committed the adminiſtration of government to them, under pretext that they would reform the laws, eſtabliſh one uniform mode of diſpenſing juſtice without partiality

partiality or regard to the diſtinction of ranks, and thus reſtore men to ſome degree of their original equality. 1522.

The nobles were obliged to take arms in ſelf-defence. Hoſtilities began, and were carried on with all the rancour, with which reſentment at oppreſſion inſpired the one party, and the idea of inſulted dignity animated the other. As no perſon of honourable birth or of liberal education joined the Germanada, the councils as well as troops of the confederacy were conducted by low mechanicks, who acquired the confidence of an enraged multitude chiefly by the fierceneſs of their zeal, and the extravagance of their proceedings. Among ſuch men, the laws introduced in civilized nations, in order to reſtrain or moderate the violence of war, were unknown or deſpiſed; and they committed the wildeſt acts of cruelty and outrage.

The Emperor occupied with ſuppreſſing the inſurrection in Caſtile, which more immediately threatened the ſubverſion of his power and prerogative, was unable to give much attention to the tumults in Valencia, and left the nobility of that kingdom to fight their own battles. His viceroy, the Condè de Melito, had the ſupreme command of the forces which the nobles raiſed among their vaſſals. The Germanada carried on the war during the years one thouſand five hundred and twenty and twenty-one, with a more perſevering courage, than could have been expected from a body ſo tumultuary, under the conduct of ſuch leaders. They defeated the nobility in ſeveral actions, which, though not conſiderable, were extremely ſharp. They repulſed them in their attempts to reduce different towns. But the nobles, by their ſuperior ſkill in war, and at the head of troops more

Book III. more accuſtomed to ſervice, gained the advantage in moſt of the rencounters. At length, they were joined by a body of Caſtilian cavalry, which the regents diſpatched towards Valencia, ſoon after their victory over Padilla at Villalar, and by their aſſiſtance they acquired ſuch ſuperiority, that they entirely broke and ruined the Germanada. The leaders of the party were put to death, almoſt without any formality of legal trial, and ſuffered ſuch cruel puniſhments, as the ſenſe of recent injuries prompted the nobles to inflict. The government of Valencia was re-eſtabliſhed in its ancient form [a].

1522.

Appearances of diſaffection in Aragon.

In Aragon, violent ſymptoms of the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection and mutiny, which reigned in the other kingdoms of Spain, began to appear; but by the prudent conduct of the viceroy, Don John de Lanuſa, they were ſo far compoſed, as to prevent their breaking out into any open inſurrection. But in the iſland of Majorca, annexed to the crown of Aragon, the ſame cauſes which had excited the commotions in Valencia, produced effects no leſs violent. The people, impatient of the hardſhips which they endured under the rigid juriſdiction of the nobility, took arms in a tumultuary manner; depoſed their viceroy; drove him out of the iſland; and maſſacred every gentleman who was ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The obſtinacy with which the people of Majorca perſiſted in their rebellion, was equal to the rage with which they began it. Many and vigorous efforts were requiſite in order to reduce them to obedience; and tranquillity was

Formidable inſurrection in Majorca.

March 19, 1521.

[a] Argenſola Anales de Aragon, cap. 75. 90. 99. 118. Sayas Anales de Aragon, cap. 5. 12, &c. P. Mart. Ep. lib. xxxiii. & xxxiv. paſſim. Ferrer. Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, viii. 542. 564, &c.

was re-eſtabliſhed in every part of Spain before they could be brought to ſubmit to their ſovereign [b]. Book III. 1522.

Cauſes which prevented the union of the malecontents.

WHILE the ſpirit of diſaffection was ſo general among the Spaniards, and ſo many cauſes concurred in precipitating them into ſuch violent meaſures, in order to obtain the redreſs of their grievances, it may appear ſtrange, that the malecontents in the different kingdoms ſhould have carried on their operations without any mutual concert, or even any intercourſe with each other. By uniting their councils and arms, they might have acted both with greater force, and with more effect. The appearance of a national confederacy would have rendered it no leſs reſpectable among the people than formidable to the crown; and the Emperor, unable to reſiſt ſuch a combination, muſt have complied with any terms which the members of it thought fit to preſcribe. Many things, however, prevented the Spaniards from forming themſelves into one body, and purſuing common meaſures. The people of the different kingdoms in Spain, though they were become the ſubjects of the ſame ſovereign, retained, in full force, their national antipathy to each other. The remembrance of their ancient rivalſhip and hoſtilities was ſtill recent, and the ſenſe of reciprocal injuries ſo entire, as to be incompatible with their acting in confidence and concert. Each nation choſe rather to depend on its own efforts and to maintain the ſtruggle alone, than to implore the aid of neighbours, whom they diſtruſted and hated. At the ſame time the forms of government in the ſeveral kingdoms of

[b] Argenſola Anales de Aragon, c. 113. Ferrer. Hiſt. viii. 542. Sayas Anales de Aragon, cap. 7. 11. 14. 76. 81. Ferreras Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, viii. 579, &c. 609.

Book III. 1522.

of Spain were ſo different, and the grievances of which they complained, as well as the alterations and amendments which they attempted to introduce, ſo various, that it was not eaſy to bring them to unite in any common plan. To this diſunion Charles was indebted for the preſervation of his Spaniſh crowns; and while each of the kingdoms followed ſeparate meaſures, all of them were obliged at laſt to conform to the will of their ſovereign.

The Emperor's prudent and generous behaviour towards the malecontents.

THE arrival of the Emperor in Spain filled his ſubjects who had been in arms againſt him with deep apprehenſions, from which he ſoon delivered them by an act of clemency, no leſs prudent than generous. After a rebellion ſo general, ſcarcely twenty perſons, among ſo many criminals obnoxious to the law, had been puniſhed capitally in Caſtile. Though ſtrongly ſolicited by his council, Charles refuſed to ſhed any more blood by the hands of the executioner; and publiſhed a general pardon, extending to all crimes committed ſince the commencement of the inſurrections, from which only fourſcore were excepted. Even theſe he ſeems to have named, rather with an intention to intimidate others, than from any inclination to ſeize them; for when an officious courtier offered to inform him where one of the moſt conſiderable among them was concealed, he avoided it by a good-natured pleaſantry; "Go," ſays he, "I have now no reaſon to be afraid of that man, but he has ſome cauſe to keep at a diſtance from me; and you would be better employed in telling him that I am here, than in acquainting me with the place of his retreat[c]." By this appearance of magnanimity, as well as by

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[c] Sandov. 377, &c. Vida del. Emper. Carlos por Don Juan. Anton. de Vera y Zuniga, p. 30.

by his care to avoid every thing which had diſguſted the Caſtilians during his former reſidence among them; by his addreſs in aſſuming their manners, in ſpeaking their language, and in complying with all their humours and cuſtoms, he acquired an aſcendant over them which hardly any of their native monarchs had ever attained, and brought them to ſupport him in all his enterprizes with a zeal and valour to which he owed much of his ſucceſs and grandeur. Book III. 1522.

Adrian ſets out for Rome, and his ill reception there.

About the time that Charles landed in Spain Adrian ſet out for Italy to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity. But though the Roman people longed extremely for his arrival, they could not, on his firſt appearance, conceal their ſurprize and diſappointment. After being accuſtomed to the princely magnificence of Julius, and the elegant ſplendour of Leo, they beheld with contempt an old man of an humble deportment, of auſtere manners, an enemy to pomp, deſtitute of taſte in the arts, and unadorned with any of the external accompliſhments which the vulgar expect in thoſe raiſed to eminent ſtations [e]. Nor did his political views and maxims ſeem leſs ſtrange and aſtoniſhing to the pontifical miniſters. He acknowledged and bewailed the corruptions which abounded in the church, as well as in the court of Rome, and prepared to reform both; he diſcovered no intention of aggrandizing his family; he even ſcrupled at retaining ſuch territories as ſome of his predeceſſors had acquired by violence or fraud, rather than by any legal title, and for that reaſon he inveſted Franceſco Maria de Roverè anew

[d] Ulloa Vita de Carlo V. p. 85. [e] Guic. l. xv. 238. Jovii Vita Adriani, 117. Bellefor. Epitr. des Princ. 84.

Book III. 1522. anew in the duchy of Urbino, of which Leo had ſtripped him, and ſurrendered to the duke of Ferrara ſeveral places wreſted from him by the church [f]. To men little habituated to ſee princes regulate their conduct by the maxims of morality and the principles of juſtice, theſe actions of the new Pope appeared inconteſtable proofs of his weakneſs or inexperience. Adrian, who was a perfect ſtranger to the complex and intricate ſyſtem of Italian politicks, and who could place no confidence in perſons whoſe ſubtile refinements in buſineſs ſuited ſo ill with his natural ſimplicity and candour, being often embarraſſed and irreſolute in his deliberations, the opinion of his incapacity daily increaſed, until both his perſon and government became objects of ridicule among his ſubjects [g].

He endeavours to reſtore peace in Europe.

Adrian, though devoted to the Emperor, endeavoured to aſſume the impartiality which became the common father of Chriſtendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league againſt Soly-man, whoſe conqueſt of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe [h]. But this was an undertaking far beyond his abilities. To examine ſuch a variety of pretenſions, to adjuſt ſuch a number of interfering intereſts, to extinguiſh the paſſions which ambition, emulation, and mutual injuries had kindled, to bring ſo many hoſtile powers to purſue the ſame ſcheme with unanimity and vigour, required not only uprightneſs of intention, but a great ſuperiority both of underſtanding and addreſs.

The

[f] Guic lib xv. 240. [g] Jov. Vita Adr. 118. P. Mart. Ep. 774. Ruſcelli Lettres de Princ. vol. i. 87. 96. 101. [h] Bellefor. Epitr. p. 86.

THE Italian ſtates were no leſs deſirous of peace than the Pope. The Imperial army under Colonna was ſtill kept on foot; but as the Emperor's revenues in Spain, in Naples, and in the Low Countries, were either exhauſted, or applied to ſome other purpoſe, it depended entirely for pay and ſubſiſtence on the Italians. A great part of it was quartered in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and monthly contributions were levied upon the Florentines, the Milaneſe, the Genoeſe, and Luccheſe, by the viceroy of Naples; and though all exclaimed againſt ſuch oppreſſion, and were impatient to be delivered from it, the dread of worſe conſequences from the rage of the army, or the reſentment of the Emperor, obliged them to ſubmit [i]. 1522.

1523. A new league againſt the French King.

So much regard, however, was paid to the Pope's exhortations, and to a bull which he iſſued requiring all Chriſtian princes to conſent to a truce for three years, that the Imperial, the French, and Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome were empowered to treat of that matter; but while they waſted their time in fruitleſs negociations, their maſters continued their preparations for war. The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered with great firmneſs to their alliance with Francis, being now convinced that his affairs in Italy were in a deſperate ſituation, entered into a league againſt him with the Emperor; to which Adrian, at the inſtigation of his countryman and friend Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who perſuaded him that the only obſtacles to peace aroſe from the ambition of the French King, ſoon after acceded. The other Italian ſtates followed their example; and Francis was left,

June 28.

[i] Guic. l. xv. 238.

Book III. 1523. left, without a ſingle ally, to reſiſt the efforts of ſo many enemies, whoſe armies threatened, and whoſe territories encompaſſed, his dominions on every ſide [k].

Francis's vigorous meaſures in oppoſition to it.

THE dread of this powerful confederacy, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defenſive, or at leaſt have prevented his entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the character of that prince, too apt to become remiſs, and even negligent on ordinary occaſions, to rouze at the approach of danger, and not only to encounter it with ſpirit and intrepidity, qualities which never forſook him, but to provide againſt it with diligence and induſtry. Before his enemies were ready to execute any of their ſchemes, Francis had aſſembled a numerous army. His authority over his own ſubjects was far greater than that which Charles or Henry poſſeſſed over theirs. They depended on their diets, their cortes, and their parliaments for money, which was uſually granted them in ſmall ſums, very ſlowly, and with much reluctance. The taxes he could impoſe were more conſiderable, and levied with greater diſpatch; ſo that on this, as well as on other occaſions, his army was in the field while they were deviſing ways and means for raiſing theirs. Senſible of this advantage, Francis hoped to diſconcert all the Emperor's ſchemes by marching in perſon into the Milaneſe; and this bold meaſure, the more formidable, becauſe unexpected, could ſcarcely have failed of producing that effect. The vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himſelf was haſtening after it with the ſecond diviſion of his troops, when the diſcovery of a domeſtick

Suſpended upon the diſcovery of the conſtable Bourbon's conſpiracy.

[k] Guic. l. xv. 241. 248.

domeſtick conſpiracy which threatened the ruin of the kingdom, obliged him to ſtop ſhort, and to alter his meaſures. Book III. 1523.

His character.

THE author of this dangerous plot was Charles duke of Bourbon, lord high conſtable, whoſe noble birth, vaſt fortune, and high office, raiſed him to be the moſt powerful ſubject in France, as his great talents, equally ſuited to the field or the council, and his ſignal ſervices to the crown, rendered him the moſt illuſtrious and deſerving. The near reſemblance between the King and him in many of their qualities, both being fond of war, and ambitious to excel in manly exerciſes, as well as their equality in age, and their proximity of blood, ought naturally to have ſecured him a conſiderable ſhare in that Monarch's favour. But unhappily Louiſe, the King's mother, had contracted a violent averſion to the houſe of Bourbon, for no better reaſon than becauſe Anne of Bretagne, the Queen of Louis the Twelfth, with whom ſhe lived in perpetual enmity, diſcovered a peculiar attachment to that branch of the royal family; and ſhe had taught her ſon, who was too ſuſceptible of any impreſſion which ſhe gave him, to view all the conſtable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealouſy. His diſtinguiſhed merit at the battle of Marignano had not been ſufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan upon very frivolous pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult ſtation did not deſerve; the payment of his penſions had been ſuſpended without any good cauſe; and during the campaign of one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, the King, as has already been related, had affronted him in preſence of the whole army, by giving the com-

Cauſes of his diſaffection.

Book III. 1523. mand of the van to the duke of Alençon. The conſtable, at firſt, bore theſe indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from an high-ſpirited Prince, conſcious of what was due to his rank, and to his ſervices. Such a multiplicity of injuries, however, exhauſted his patience; and inſpiring him with thoughts of revenge, he retired from court, and began to hold a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Emperor's miniſters.

About that time the dutcheſs of Bourbon happened to die without leaving any children. Louiſe, of a diſpoſition no leſs amorous than vindictive, and ſtill ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions at the age of forty-ſix, began to view the Conſtable, a Prince as amiable as he was accompliſhed, with other eyes; and notwithſtanding the great diſparity of their years, ſhe formed the ſcheme of marrying him. Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aſpire, from the doting fondneſs of a woman who governed her ſon and the kingdom, being incapable either of imitating the Queen in her ſudden tranſition from hatred to love, or of diſſembling ſo meanly as to pretend affection for one who had perſecuted him ſo long with unprovoked malice, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refuſal by ſome ſevere raillery on Louiſe's perſon and character. She finding herſelf not only contemned, but inſulted, her diſappointed love turned into hatred, and ſince ſhe could not marry, ſhe reſolved to ruin Bourbon.

For this purpoſe ſhe conſulted with the chancellor Du Prat, a man, who, by a baſe proſtitution of great talents and of ſuperior ſkill in his profeſſion, had riſen to that high office.

By

By his advice a law-ſuit was commenced againſt the Conſtable, for the whole eſtate belonging to the houſe of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed in the King's name, as having fallen to the crown; part in that of Louiſe, as the neareſt heir in blood of the deceaſed Dutcheſs. Both theſe claims were equally deſtitute of any foundation in juſtice; but Louiſe, by her ſolicitations and authority, and Du Prat, by employing all the artifices and chicanery of law, prevailed on the judges to order the eſtate to be ſequeſtered. This unjuſt deciſion drove the Conſtable to deſpair, and to meaſures which deſpair alone could have dictated. He renewed his intrigues in the Imperial court, and flattering himſelf that the injuries which he had ſuffered would juſtify his having recourſe to any means in order to obtain revenge, he offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural ſovereign to the Emperor, and to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of France. Charles, as well as the King of England, to whom the ſecret was communicated [1], expecting prodigious advantages from this revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and ſpared neither promiſes nor allurements which might help to confirm him in his reſolution. The Emperor offered him in marriage his ſiſter Eleanor, the widow of the King of Portugal, with a vaſt portion. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry. The counties of Provence and Dauphinè were to be ſettled on him, with the title of King. The Emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees, and Henry, ſupported by the Flemings, to invade Picardy; while twelve thouſand Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in con-

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His ſecret negociations wit the Emperor.

[1] Rymer's Fœder. xiii. 794.

Book III. cert with Bourbon, who undertook to raiſe ſix thouſand men among his friends and vaſſals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this deep laid and dangerous plot was ſuſpended, until the King ſhould croſs the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions; and as he was far advanced on his march for that purpoſe, France ſtood on the brink of deſtruction [m].

1523.

diſcovered. HAPPILY for that kingdom, a negociation which had now been carrying on for ſeveral months, though conducted with the moſt profound ſecrecy, and communicated only to a few choſen confidents, could not altogether eſcape the obſervation of the reſt of the Conſtable's numerous retainers, rendered more inquiſitive by finding that they were diſtruſted. Two of theſe gave the King ſome intimation of a myſterious correſpondence betwen their maſter and the Count de Roeux, a Flemiſh nobleman of great confidence with the Emperor. Francis, who could not bring himſelf to ſuſpect that the firſt prince of the blood would be ſo baſe as to betray the kingdom to its enemies, immediately repaired to Moulins, where the Conſtable was in bed, feigning indiſpoſition, that he might not be obliged to accompany the King into Italy, and acquainted him of the intelligence which he had received. Bourbon, with great ſolemnity, and the moſt impoſing affectation of ingenuity and candour, aſſerted his own innocence; and as his health, he ſaid, was now more confirmed, he promiſed to join the army within a few days. Francis, open and candid himſelf, and too apt to be deceived by the appearance of thoſe virtues

[m] Thuani Hiſt. lib. i. c. 10. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. viii. c. 18. p. 207.

tues in others, gave ſuch credit to what he ſaid, that he refuſed to arreſt him, although adviſed to take that precaution by his wiſeſt counſellors; and as if the danger had been over, he continued his march towards Lyons. The Conſtable ſet out ſoon after, ſeemingly with an intention to follow him; but turning ſuddenly to the left he croſſed the Rhone, and after infinite fatigues and perils, eſcaped all the parties which the King, ſenſible too late of his credulity, ſent out to intercept him, and reached Italy in ſafety [n]. Book III. 1523. September. Flies to Italy.

Francis took every poſſible precaution to prevent the bad effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He put garriſons in all the places of ſtrength in the Conſtable's territories. He ſeized all the gentlemen whom he could ſuſpect of being his aſſociates; and as he had not hitherto diſcovered the whole extent of the conſpirator's ſchemes, nor knew how far the infection had ſpread among his ſubjects, he was afraid that his abſence might encourage them to make ſome deſperate attempt, and for that reaſon relinquiſhed his intention of leading his army in perſon into Italy.

He did not, however, abandon his deſign on the Milaneſe; but appointed admiral Bonnivet to take the ſupreme command in his ſtead, and to march into that country with an army thirty thouſand ſtrong. Bonnivet did not owe this preferment to his abilities as a general; for of all the talents requiſite to form a great commander, he poſſeſſed only perſonal courage, the loweſt and the moſt common. But he was the moſt accompliſhed gentleman in the French court, French invade the Milaneſe.

[n] Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Paſquier Recherches de la France, p. 481.

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court, of agreeable manners, an inſinuating addreſs, and a ſprightly converſation; and Francis, who lived in great familiarity with his courtiers, was ſo charmed with theſe qualities, that he honoured him, on all occaſions, with the moſt partial and diſtinguiſhing marks of his favour. He was, beſides, the implacable enemy of Bourbon; and as the King hardly knew whom to truſt at that juncture, he thought the chief command could be lodged no where ſo ſafely as in his hands.

Their ill conduct.

Colonna, who was entruſted with the defence of the Milaneſe, his own conqueſt, was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a formidable army. He was deſtitute of money ſufficient to pay his troops, which were reduced to a ſmall number by ſickneſs or deſertion, and had, for that reaſon, been obliged to neglect every precaution neceſſary for the ſecurity of the country. The only plan which he formed was to defend the paſſage of the river Teſſino againſt the French; and as if he had forgotten how eaſily he himſelf had diſconcerted a ſimilar ſcheme formed by Lautrec, he promiſed with great confidence on its being effectual. But in ſpite of all his caution, it ſucceeded no better with him than with Lautrec. Bonnivet paſſed the river without loſs, at a ford which had been neglected, and the Imperialiſts retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as ſoon as the French ſhould appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini imputes to infatuation [o], Bonnivet did not advance for three or four days, and loſt the opportunity with which his good fortune preſented him. The citizens recovered from their conſternation; Colonna, ſtill active at the age of fourſcore, and Moronè, whoſe enmity to France was

[o] Guic. lib. xv. 254.

was indefatigable, were employed night and day in repairing the fortifications, in amaſſing proviſions, in collecting troops from every quarter; and by the time the French approached, had put the city in a condition to ſtand a ſiege. Bonnivet, after ſome fruitleſs attempts on the town, which haraſſed his own troops more than the enemy, was obliged, by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, to retire into winter quarters. Book III. 1523.

Death of Adrian VI.

DURING theſe tranſactions Pope Adrian died; an event ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the Roman people, whoſe hatred or contempt of him augmented every day, that the night after his deceaſe, they adorned the door of his chief phyſician's houſe with garlands, adding this inſcription, TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY[p]. The Cardinal de Medici inſtantly renewed his pretenſions to the papal dignity, and entered the conclave with high expectations on his own part, and a general opinion of the people that they would be ſucceſsful. But though ſupported by the Imperial faction, poſſeſſed of great perſonal intereſt, and capable of all the artifices, refinements, and corruption, which reign in thoſe aſſemblies, the obſtinacy and intrigues of his rivals protracted the conclave to the unuſual length of fifty days. The addreſs and perſeverance of the cardinal at laſt ſurmounted every obſtacle. He was raiſed to the head of the church, and aſſumed the government of it by the name of Clement VII. The choice was univerſally approved of. High expectations were conceived of a Pope, whoſe great talents, and long experience in buſineſs, ſeemed to qualify him no leſs for defending the ſpiritual intereſts of the church, expoſed to imminent

Election of Clement VII. Nov. 28.

[p] Jovii Vit. Adr. 127.

Book III. 1523.

minent danger by the progreſs of Luther's opinions, than for conducting its political operations with the prudence requiſite at ſuch a difficult juncture; and who, beſides theſe advantages, rendered the eccleſiaſtical ſtate more reſpectable, by having in his hands the government of Florence, together with the wealth of the family of Medici [q].

Wolſey diſappointed and filled with reſentment.

CARDINAL WOLSEY, not diſheartened by the diſappointment of his ambitious views at the former election, had entertained more ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs on this occaſion. Henry wrote to the Emperor, reminding him of his engagements to ſecond the pretenſions of his miniſter. Wolſey beſtirred himſelf with activity ſuitable to the importance of the prize for which he contended, and inſtructed his agents at Rome to ſpare neither promiſes nor bribes in order to gain his end. But Charles had either amuſed him with vain hopes which he never intended to gratify, or he judged it impolitick to oppoſe a candidate who had ſuch a proſpect of ſucceeding as Medici; or perhaps the cardinals durſt not venture to provoke the people of Rome, while their indignation againſt Adrian's memory was ſtill freſh, by placing another *Ultra-montane* in the papal throne. Wolſey, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to ſee a Pope elected, of ſuch an age, and of ſo vigorous a conſtitution, that he could not comfort himſelf much with the chance of ſurviving him. This ſecond proof fully convinced Wolſey of the Emperor's inſincerity, and it excited in him all the reſentment which an haughty mind feels on being at once diſappointed and deceived; and though Clement endeavoured to ſoothe his vindictive nature by granting

[q] Guic. l. xv. 263.

granting him a commiſſion to be legate in England during life, with ſuch ample powers as veſted in him almoſt the whole papal juriſdiction in that kingdom, the injury he had received entirely diſſolved the tie which had united him to Charles, and from that moment he meditated revenge. It was neceſſary, however, to conceal his intention from his maſter, and to ſuſpend the execution of it, until, by a dexterous improvement of the incidents which might occur, he ſhould be able gradually to alienate the King's affections from the Emperor. For this reaſon, he was ſo far from expreſſing any uneaſineſs on account of the repulſe which he had met with, that he abounded on every occaſion, private as well as publick, in declarations of his high ſatisfaction with Clement's promotion [r]. Book III. 1523.

HENRY had, during the campaign, fulfilled with great ſincerity whatever he was bound to perform by the league againſt France, though more ſlowly than he could have wiſhed. His thoughtleſs profuſion, and total neglect of œconomy, reduced him often to great ſtraits for money. The operations of war were now carried on in Europe in a manner very different from that which had long prevailed. Inſtead of armies ſuddenly aſſembled, which under diſtinct chieftains followed their prince into the field for a ſhort ſpace, and ſerved at their own coſt, troops were now levied at great charge, and received regularly conſiderable pay. Inſtead of impatience on both ſides to bring every quarrel to the iſſue of a battle, which commonly decided the fate of open and defenceleſs countries, and allowed the barons, together with their vaſſals, to return to their ordinary occupations; towns Henry's operations in France.

[r] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 294, &c. Herbert.

Book III. towns were fortified with great art, and defended with much obſtinacy; war, from a very ſimple,
1523. became a very intricate ſcience; and campaigns grew of courſe to be more tedious, and leſs deciſive. The expence which theſe alterations in the military ſyſtem neceſſarily created, appeared intolerable to nations hitherto unaccuſtomed to the burden of heavy taxes. Hence proceeded the frugal, and even parſimonious ſpirit of the Engliſh parliaments in that age, which Henry, with all his authority, was ſeldom able to overcome. The commons, having refuſed at this time to grant him the ſupplies which he demanded, he had recourſe to the ample and almoſt unlimited prerogative which the Kings of England then poſſeſſed, and by a violent and unuſual exertion of it, raiſed the money he
Sept. 20. wanted. This, however, waſted ſo much time, that it was late in the ſeaſon before his army, under the duke of Suffolk, could take the field. Being joined by a conſiderable body of Flemings, Suffolk marched into Picardy, and Francis, from his extravagant eagerneſs to recover the Milaneſe, having left that frontier almoſt unguarded, he penetrated as far as the banks of the river Oyſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with conſternation. But the arrival of ſome troops detached by the King, who was ſtill at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who allowed the allies no reſpite night or day; the rigour of a moſt unnatural ſeaſon, together with ſcarcity of proviſions, compelled
November. Suffolk to retire; and La Tremoüille, who commanded in thoſe parts, had the glory of having, with an handful of men, checked the progreſs of a formidable army, and of driving them with ignominy out of the French territories [s].

THE

[s] Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, 73, &c.

THE Emperor's attempts upon Burgundy and Guienne were not more fortunate, though in both theſe provinces Francis was equally ill prepared to reſiſt them. The conduct and valour of his generals ſupplied his want of foreſight; the Germans who made an irruption into one of theſe provinces, and the Spaniards who attacked the other, were repulſed with great diſgrace. 1523. And theſe of the Germans and Spaniards.

THUS ended the year 1523, during which Francis's good fortune and ſucceſs had been ſuch as gave all Europe an high idea of his power and reſources. He had diſcovered and diſconcerted a dangerous conſpiracy, the author of which he had driven into exile, almoſt without an attendant; he had rendered abortive all the ſchemes of the powerful confederacy formed againſt him; he had protected his dominions when attacked on three different ſides; and though his army in the Milaneſe had not made ſuch progreſs as might have been expected from its ſuperiority to the enemy in number, he had recovered and ſtill kept poſſeſſion of one half of that dutchy. End of the campaign.

THE enſuing year opened with events more diſaſtrous to France. Fontarabia was loſt by the cowardice or treachery of its governor. In Italy, the allies reſolved on an early and vigorous effort in order to diſpoſſeſs Bonnivet of that part of the Milaneſe which lies beyond the Teſino. Clement, who, under the pontificates of Leo and Adrian, had diſcovered an implacable enmity to France, began now to view the power which the Emperor was daily acquiring in Italy, with ſo much jealouſy, that he refuſed to accede, as his predeceſſors had done, to the league againſt Francis, and forgetting private paſſions 1524. Sentiments of the new Pope. Feb. 27.

Book III. 1523.

paſſions and animoſities, laboured with the zeal which became his character, to bring about a reconciliation among the contending parties. But all his endeavours were ineffectual; a numerous army, to which each of the allies furniſhed their contingent of troops, was aſſembled at Milan by the beginning of March. Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, took the command of it upon Colonna's death, though the chief direction of military operations was committed to Bourbon, and the marquis de Peſcara; the latter the ableſt and moſt enterpriſing of the Imperial generals; the former inſpired by his reſentment with new activity and invention, and acquainted ſo thoroughly with the characters of the French commanders, the genius of their troops, and the ſtrength as well as weakneſs of their armies, as to be of infinite ſervice to the party which he had joined. But all theſe advantages were nearly loſt through the Emperor's inability to raiſe money ſufficient for executing the various and extenſive plans which he had formed. When his troops were commanded to march, they mutinied againſt their leaders, demanding the pay which was due to them for ſome months; and diſregarding both the menaces and intreaties of their officers, threatened to pillage the city of Milan, if they did not inſtantly receive ſatisfaction. Out of this difficulty the generals of the allies were extricated by Moronè, who prevailing on his countrymen, over whom his influence was prodigious, to advance the ſum that was requiſite, the army took the field [t].

Imperial army ready to take the field early.

Retarded by a mutiny of the troops.

The French obliged to abandon the Milaneſe.

Bonnivet was deſtitute of troops to oppoſe this army, and ſtill more of the talents which could

[t] Guic. l. xv. 267. Capella, 190.

could render him an equal match for its leaders. After various movements and encounters, described with great accuracy by the contemporary hiſtorians, a detail of which, at this diſtance of time, would be equally unintereſting and uninſtructive, he was forced to abandon the ſtrong camp in which he had intrenched himſelf at Biagraſſa. Soon after, partly by his own miſconduct, partly by the activity of the enemy, who haraſſed and ruined his army by continual ſkirmiſhes, while they carefully declined a battle which he often offered them; and partly by the caprice of 6000 Swiſs, who refuſed to join his army, though within a day's march of it; he was reduced to the neceſſity of attempting a retreat into France through the valley of Aoſt. Juſt as he arrived on the banks of the Seſſia, and began to paſs that river, Bourbon and Peſcara appeared with the vanguard of the allies, and attacked his rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himſelf with much valour, was wounded ſo dangerouſly as obliged him to quit the field; and the conduct of the rear was committed to the chevalier Bayard, who, though ſo much a ſtranger to the arts of a court that he never roſe to the chief command, was always called, in times of real danger, to the poſts of greateſt difficulty and importance. He put himſelf at the head of the men at arms, and animating them by his preſence and example to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the reſt of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in this ſervice he received a wound which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horſeback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then fixing his eyes

Book III. 1524.

Death of the chevalier Bayard, and ruin of the French army.

Book III. 1524.

eyes on the guard of his ſword, which he held up inſtead of a croſs, he addreſſed his prayers to God, and in this poſture, which became his character both as a ſoldier and as a Chriſtian, he calmly waited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the foremoſt of the enemy's troops, found him in this ſituation, and expreſſed regret and pity at the ſight. "Pity not "me," cried the high-ſpirited chevalier, "I die "as a man of honour ought, in the diſcharge "of my duty: They indeed are objects of "pity, who fight againſt their King, their "country, and their oath." The marquis de Peſcara, paſſing ſoon after, manifeſted his admiration of Bayard's virtues, as well as his ſorrow for his fate, with the generoſity of a gallant enemy; and finding that he could not be removed with ſafety from that ſpot, ordered a tent to be pitched there, and appointed proper perſons to attend him. He died, notwithſtanding their care, as his anceſtors for ſeveral generations had done, in the field of battle. Peſcara ordered his body to be embalmed, and ſent to his relations; and ſuch was the reſpect paid to military merit in that age, that the duke of Savoy commanded it to be received with royal honours in all the cities of his dominions; in Dauphinè, Bayard's native country, the people of all ranks came out in a ſolemn proceſſion to meet it [u].

Bonnivet led back the ſhattered remains of his army into France; and in one ſhort campaign, Francis was ſtripped of all he had poſſeſſed in Italy, and left without one ally in that country.

While

[u] Bellefor. Epitr. p. 73. Mem. de Bellay, 75. Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 108, &c. Paſquier Recherches, p. 526.

1524.

While the war kindled by the emulation of Charles and Francis ſpread over ſo many countries of Europe, Germany enjoyed a profound tranquillity, extremely favourable to the reformation, which continued to make progreſs daily. During Luther's confinement in his retreat at Wartburg, Carloſtadius, one of his diſciples, animated with the ſame zeal, but poſſeſſed of leſs prudence and moderation than his maſter, began to propagate wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they roſe in ſeveral villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and threw down and deſtroyed the images with which they were adorned. Theſe irregular and outrageous proceedings were ſo repugnant to all the Elector's cautious maxims, that, if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers a prince, no leſs jealous of his own authority, than afraid of giving offence to the Emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, ſenſible of the danger, immediately quitted his retreat, without waiting for Frederick's permiſſion, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the reformation, the veneration for his perſon and authority were ſtill ſo great, that his appearance alone ſuppreſſed that ſpirit of extravagance which began to ſeize his party. Carloſtadius and his fanatical followers, ſtruck dumb by his rebukes, declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man [x].

Progreſs of the reformation in Germany.

March 6. 1522.

Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to tranſlate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking of no leſs difficulty than importance,

Luther tranſlates the Bible.

[x] Sleid. Hiſt. 51. Seckend. 195.

Book III. portance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified: He had a competent knowledge in the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the ſtyle and ſentiments of the inſpired writers; and though his compoſitions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great maſter of the purity of his mother tongue, and could expreſs himſelf with all the elegance of which it is capable. By his own aſſiduous application, together with the aſſiſtance of Melancthon and ſeveral other of his diſciples, he finiſhed part of the New Teſtament in the year 1522; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome, than that of all his own works. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by perſons of every rank. They were aſtoniſhed at diſcovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are, to the inventions of thoſe prieſts who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themſelves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the eſtabliſhed opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the ſtandard, or when they departed from it. The great advantages ariſing from Luther's tranſlation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publiſh verſions of the Scriptures in their reſpective languages.

1524.

Several cities aboliſh the rites of the Popiſh church.

About this time, Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburgh, and ſeveral other cities in Germany of the firſt rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magiſtrates aboliſhed the maſs, and the other ſuperſtitious

ſtitious rites of Popery [y]. The elector of Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, and prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their ſubjects. Book III. 1524.

THE court of Rome beheld this growing defection with great concern; and Adrian's firſt care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the Cardinals, concerning the proper means of putting a ſtop to it. This Pope was profoundly ſkilled in ſcholaſtick theology, and having been early taken notice of on that account, he ſtill retained ſuch an exceſſive admiration of the ſcience to which he owed his reputation and ſucceſs in life, that he conſidered Luther's invectives againſt the ſchoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little leſs than blaſphemy. All the tenets of that doctor appeared to him ſo clear and irrefragable, that he ſuppoſed every perſon who called in queſtion or contradicted them, to be either blinded by ignorance, or to be acting in oppoſition to the conviction of his own mind: Of courſe, no Pope was ever more bigotted or inflexible with regard to points of doctrine than Adrian; he not only maintained them as Leo had done, becauſe they were ancient, or becauſe it was dangerous for the church to allow of innovations, but he adhered to them with the zeal of a theologian, and with the tenaciouſneſs of a diſputant. At the ſame time his own manners being extremely ſimple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as ſenſible of its corruptions as the reformers themſelves, and viewed them with

Meaſures employed by Adrian in order to check the progreſs of the Reformation.

[y] Seckend. 241. Chytræi Contin. Krantzii, 203.

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no leſs indignation. The brief which he addreſſed to the diet of the Empire aſſembled at Nuremberg, and the inſtructions he gave Cheregato, the nuncio whom he ſent hither, were framed agreeably to theſe views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more aſperity and rancour of expreſſion than Leo had ever uſed; he ſeverely cenſured the Princes of Germany for ſuffering him to ſpread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not inſtantly retract his errors, to deſtroy him with fire as a gangrened and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moſes, Ananias and Sapphira by the apoſtles, and John Huſs and Jerome of Prague by their anceſtors [z]. On the other hand, he, with great candour, and in the moſt explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the ſource from which had flowed moſt of the evils the church now felt or dreaded; he promiſed to exert all his authority towards reforming theſe abuſes, with as much diſpatch as the nature and inveteracy of the diſorders would admit; and he requeſted of them to give him their advice with regard to the moſt effectual means of ſuppreſſing that new hereſy which had ſprung up among them [a].

Diet of Nuremberg propoſe a general council as the proper remedy.

THE members of the Diet, after praiſing the Pope's pious and laudable intentions, excuſed themſelves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increaſe of Luther's followers, as well as the averſion to the court of Rome among their other ſubjects on

[z] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 342. [a] Ibid. p. 345.

on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolerable, as his Holiness would learn from a catalogue of them, which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a General Council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the Emperor's consent, to assemble without delay, in one of the great cities of Germany, that all who had right to be present might deliberate with freedom, and propose their opinions with such boldness, as the dangerous situation of religion at this juncture required [b].

Artifices of the nuncio to elude it.

The nuncio, more artful than his master, and better acquainted with the political views and interests of the Roman court, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove at a time when many openly denied the papal authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he employed his utmost address, in order to prevail on the members of the Diet to proceed themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court, than the tranquillity of the Em-

 pire,

[b] Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. p. 346.

Book III. 1524.

pire, or purity of the church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances to be preſented to the Pope [c]. The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonſtrance ſo diſagreeable to his court, left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the Diet [d].

The Diet preſent a liſt of an hundred grievances to the Pope.

THE ſecular Princes accordingly, for the eccleſiaſticks, although they gave no oppoſition, did not think it decent to join with them, drew up the liſt (ſo famous in the German annals) of an hundred grievances, which the Empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal ſee. This liſt contained grievances much of the ſame nature with that prepared under the reign of Maximilian. It would be tedious to enumerate each of them; they complained of the ſums exacted for diſpenſations, abſolutions, and indulgences; of the expence ariſing from the law-ſuits carried to Rome; of the innumerable abuſes occaſioned by reſervations, commendams, and annates; of the exemption from civil juriſdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all ſecular cauſes under the cognizance of the eccleſiaſtical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led; and of various other particulars, many of which have already been mentioned among the circumſtances which contributed to the favourable reception, or to the quick progreſs of Luther's doctrines. In the end they concluded, that if the holy ſee did not ſpeedily deliver them from thoſe intolerable burdens, they had determined to endure them no longer, and would employ the

[c] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 349. [d] Ibid. 376.

the power and authority with which God had entruſted them, in order to procure relief [e]. 1524.

The receſs of the Diet, March 6, 1523.

INSTEAD of ſuch ſeverities againſt Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *receſs* or edict of the Diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be aſſembled, and in the mean time not to publiſh any new opinions contrary to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abſtain from matters of controverſy in their diſcourſes to the people, and to confine themſelves to the plain and inſtructive truths of religion [f].

This diet of great benefit to the Reformation.

THE reformers derived great advantage from the tranſactions of this diet, as they afforded them the fulleſt and moſt authentick evidence that groſs corruptions prevailed in the court of Rome, and that the Empire was loaded by the clergy with inſupportable burdens. With regard to the former, they had now the teſtimony of the Pope himſelf, that their invectives and accuſations were not malicious or ill-founded. As to the latter, the repreſentatives of the Germanick body, in an aſſembly where the patrons of the new opinions were far from being the moſt numerous or powerful, had pointed out, as the chief grievances of the Empire, thoſe very practices of the Romiſh church againſt which Luther and his diſciples were accuſtomed to declaim. Accordingly, in all their controverſial writings after this period, they often appealed to Adrian's declaration, and to the hundred

[e] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 354. [f] Ibid. 348.

Book III. 1524.

hundred grievances, in confirmation of whatever they advanced concerning the diſſolute manners, or inſatiable ambition and rapaciouſneſs of the papal court.

Adrian's conduct cenſured at Rome.

At Rome, Adrian's conduct was conſidered as a proof of the moſt childiſh ſimplicity and imprudence. Men trained up amidſt the artifices and corruptions of the papal court, and accuſtomed to judge of actions not by what was juſt, but by what was uſeful, were aſtoniſhed at a Pontiff, who, departing from the wiſe maxims of his predeceſſors, acknowledged diſorders which he ought to have concealed; and forgetting his own dignity, aſked advice of thoſe, to whom he was entitled to preſcribe. By ſuch an exceſs of impolitick ſincerity, they were afraid that, inſtead of reclaiming, he would render the enemies of the church more preſumptuous, and inſtead of extinguiſhing hereſy, would weaken the foundations of the papal power, or ſtop the chief ſources from which wealth flowed into the church [g]. For this reaſon they induſtriouſly oppoſed all his ſchemes of reformation, and by throwing objections and difficulties in his way, endeavoured to retard or to defeat the execution of them. Adrian, amazed on the one hand, at the obſtinacy of the Lutherans, diſguſted on the other, with the manners and maxims of the Italians, and finding himſelf unable to correct either the one or the other, often lamented his own ſituation, and often looked back with pleaſure on that period of his life when he was only dean of Louvain, a more humble but happier ſtation, in which little was expected from him, and there was nothing to fruſtrate his good intentions [h].

Clement

[g] F. Paul, Hiſt. of Counc. p. 28. Palavic. Hiſt. 58.
[h] Jovii Vit. Adr. p 118.

CLEMENT VII. his ſucceſſor, excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life, or uprightneſs of intention. He was animated not only with the averſion which all Popes naturally bear to a council, but having gained his own election by means very uncanonical, he was afraid of an aſſembly that might ſubject it to a ſcrutiny which it could not ſtand. He determined, therefore, by every poſſible means to elude the demands of the Germans, both with reſpect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuſes in the papal court, which the raſhneſs and incapacity of his predeceſſor had brought upon him. For this purpoſe he made choice of cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, often entruſted by the Popes with negotiations of importance, as his nuncio to the diet of the Empire aſſembled again at Nuremberg.

1524. Clement's meaſures againſt Luther, and his dread of a general council.

CAMPEGGIO, without taking any notice of what had paſſed in the laſt meeting, exhorted the diet in a long diſcourſe, to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of ſuppreſſing Luther's doctrines. The diet, in return, deſired to know the Pope's intentions concerning the council, and the redreſs of the hundred grievances. The former, the nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and unmeaning declarations of the Pope's reſolution to purſue ſuch meaſures as would be for the greateſt good of the church. With regard to the latter, as the catalogue of grievances did not reach Rome till after Adrian's death, and of conſequence had not been regularly laid before the preſent Pope, Campeggio took advantage of this circumſtance to decline making any definitive anſwer to them in Clement's name;

February. The negociations of his nuncio in a ſecond diet at Nuremberg.

Book III. 1524.

name; though, at the ſame time, he obſerved that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publiſhing it by their own authority was highly diſreſpectful to the Roman ſee. In the end, he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour againſt Luther and his adherents. But though an ambaſſador from the Emperor, who was at that time very ſolicitous to gain the Pope, warmly ſeconded the nuncio, with many profeſſions of his maſter's zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal ſee, the *receſs* of the diet was conceived in terms of almoſt the ſame import with the former, without enjoining any additional ſeverity againſt Luther and his party [i].

attended with little ſucceſs.

April 18.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to amuſe and ſoothe the people, publiſhed certain articles for the amendment of ſome diſorders and abuſes which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell ſo far ſhort of the expectations of the Lutherans, and of the demands of the diet, gave no ſatisfaction, and produced little effect. The nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and by ſtriking at the root wiſhed to exterminate the evil [k].

[i] Seckend. 286. Sleid. Hiſt. 66. [k] Seckend. 292.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IV.

THE expulſion of the French, both out of the Milaneſe, and the republick of Genoa, was conſidered by the Italians as the concluſion of the war between Charles and Francis; and as they began immediately to be apprehenſive of the Emperor, when they ſaw no power remaining in Italy capable either to controul or oppoſe him, they longed ardently for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. Having procured the reſtoration of Sforza to his paternal dominions, which had been their chief motive for entering into confederacy with Charles, they plainly diſcovered their intention to contribute no longer towards increaſing the Emperor's ſuperiority over his rival, which was already the object of their jealouſy. The Pope eſpecially, whoſe natural timidity increaſed his ſuſpicions of Charles's deſigns, endeavoured by his remonſtrances to inſpire

1524. Views of the Italian ſtates with reſpect to Charles and Francis.

Book IV. ſpire him with moderation, and incline him to peace.

1524.

Charles reſolves to invade France.

But the Emperor, intoxicated with ſucceſs, and urged on by his own ambition, no leſs than by Bourbon's deſire of revenge, contemned Clement's admonitions, and declared his reſolution of ordering his army to paſs the Alps, and to invade Provence, a part of his rival's dominions, where, as he leaſt dreaded an attack, he was leaſt prepared to reſiſt it. His moſt experienced miniſters diſſuaded him from undertaking ſuch an enterprize with a feeble army, and an exhauſted treaſury: But he relied ſo much on having obtained the concurrence of the King of England, and on the hopes which Bourbon, with the confidence and credulity natural to exiles, entertained of being joined by a numerous body of his partiſans as ſoon as the Imperial troops ſhould enter France, that he perſiſted obſtinately in the meaſure. Henry undertook to furniſh an hundred thouſand ducats towards defraying the expence of the expedition during the firſt month, and had it in his choice either to continue the payment of that ſum monthly, or to invade Picardy before the end of July with a powerful army. The Emperor engaged to attack Guienne at the ſame time with a conſiderable body of men; and if theſe enterprizes proved ſucceſsful, they agreed, that Bourbon, beſides the territories which he had loſt, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Provence, with the title of King, and ſhould do homage to Henry as the lawful King of France, for his new dominions. Of all the parts of this extenſive but extravagant project, the invaſion of Provence was the only one which was executed. For although Bourbon, with a ſcrupulous delicacy,

altogether

altogether unexpected after the part which he had acted, poſitively refuſed to acknowledge Henry's title to the crown of France, and thereby abſolved him from any obligation to promote the enterprize, Charles's eagerneſs to carry his own plan into execution did not in any degree abate. The army he employed for that purpoſe amounted only to eighteen thouſand men; the ſupreme command of which was given to the Marquis de Peſcara, with inſtructions to pay the greateſt deference to Bourbon's advice in all his operations. Peſcara paſſed the Alps without oppoſition, and entering Provence, laid ſiege to Marſeilles. Bourbon had adviſed him rather to march towards Lyons, in the neighbourhood of which city his territories were ſituated, and where of courſe his influence was moſt extenſive: But the Emperor was ſo deſirous to get poſſeſſion of a port, which would, at all times, ſecure him eaſy acceſs into France, that by his authority he over-ruled the Conſtable's opinion, and directed Peſcara to make the reduction of Marſeilles his chief object [a].

1524.

The Imperialiſts enter Provence.

Auguſt 19.

Francis, who foreſaw, but was unable to prevent this attempt, took the moſt proper precautions to defeat it. He laid waſte the adjacent country, in order to render it more difficult for the enemy to ſubſiſt their army; he razed the ſuburbs of the city, ſtrengthened its fortifications, and threw into it a numerous garriſon under the command of brave and experienced officers. To theſe, nine thouſand of the citizens, whom their dread of the Spaniſh yoke inſpired with contempt of danger, joined themſelves; by their united courage and induſtry, all the efforts of Peſcara's military ſkill, and of Bourbon's

Prudent meaſures of Francis.

[a] Guic. l. xv. 273, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 80.

BOOK IV. 1524. Bourbon's activity and revenge, were rendered abortive. Francis, meanwhile, had leiſure to aſſemble a powerful army under the walls of Avignon, and no ſooner began to advance towards Marſeilles, than the Imperial troops, exhauſted by the fatigues of a ſiege which had laſted forty days, weakened by diſeaſes, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, retired with precipitation towards Italy [b].

Imperialiſts forced to retreat. Sept. 19.

IF, during theſe operations of the army in Provence, either Charles or Henry had attacked France in the manner which they had projected, that kingdom muſt have been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. But on this, as well as on many other occaſions, the Emperor found that the extent of his revenues was not adequate to the greatneſs of his power, or the ardour of his ambition, and the want of money obliged him, though with much reluctance, to circumſcribe his plan, and to leave part of it unexecuted. Henry, diſguſted at Bourbon's refuſing to recognize his right to the crown of France; alarmed at the motions of the Scots, whom the ſolicitations of the French King had perſuaded to march towards the borders of England; and no longer incited by his miniſter, who was become extremely cool with regard to all the Emperor's intereſts, took no meaſures to ſupport an enterprize, of which, as of all new undertakings, he had been at firſt exceſſively fond [c].

Francis elated with his ſucceſs.

IF the King of France had been ſatisfied with having delivered his ſubjects from this formidable invaſion, if he had thought it enough to ſhew all Europe the facility with which the internal

[b] Guic. l. xv. 277. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 93.
[c] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey. Append. N°. 70, 71, 72.

ternal ſtrength of his dominions enabled him to reſiſt the impreſſion of a foreign enemy, even when ſeconded by the abilities and powerful efforts of a rebellious ſubject, the campaign, notwithſtanding the loſs of the Milaneſe, would have been far from ending inglorioufly. But Francis, animated with courage more becoming a ſoldier than a general; puſhed on by ambition, enterprizing rather than conſiderate; and too apt to be elated with ſucceſs; was fond of every undertaking that ſeemed bold and adventurous. Such an undertaking the ſituation of his affairs, at that juncture, naturally preſented to his view. He had under his command one of the moſt powerful and beſt appointed armies France had ever brought into the field, which he could not think of diſbanding without having employed it in any ſervice. The Imperial troops had been obliged to retire, almoſt ruined by hard duty, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs; the Milaneſe had been left altogether without defence; it was not impoſſible to reach that country before Peſcara, with his ſhattered forces, could arrive there; or if fear ſhould add ſpeed to their retreat, they were in no condition to make head againſt his freſh and numerous troops; and Milan would now, as in former inſtances, ſubmit without reſiſtance to a bold invader. Theſe conſiderations, which were not deſtitute of plauſibility, appeared to his ſanguine temper to be of the utmoſt weight. In vain did his wiſeſt miniſters and generals repreſent to him the danger of taking the field at a ſeaſon ſo far advanced, with an army compoſed chiefly of Swiſs and Germans, to whoſe caprices he would be ſubject in all his operations, and on whoſe fidelity his ſafety muſt abſolutely depend. In vain did Louiſe of Savoy advance by haſty journies towards Provence, that

Book IV. 1524.

Reſolves to invade the Milaneſe.

Book IV. 1524. that ſhe might exert all her authority in diſſuading her ſon from ſuch a raſh enterprize. Francis diſregarded the remonſtrances of his ſubjects; and that he might ſave himſelf the pain of an interview with his mother, whoſe councils he had determined to reject, he began his march before her arrival; appointing her, however, by way of atonement for that neglect, to be regent of the kingdom during his abſence. Bonnivet by his perſuaſions, contributed not a little to confirm Francis in this reſolution. That favourite, who ſtrongly reſembled his maſter in all the defective parts of his character, was led, by his natural impetuoſity, warmly to approve of ſuch an enterprize; and being prompted beſides by his impatience to reviſit a Milaneſe lady, of whom he had been deeply enamoured during his late expedition, he is ſaid, by his flattering deſcriptions of her beauty and accompliſhments, to have inſpired Francis, who was extremely ſuſceptible of ſuch paſſions, with an equal deſire of ſeeing her [d].

Appoints his mother regent during his abſence.

Operations in the Milaneſe.

THE French paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis; and as their ſucceſs depended on diſpatch, they advanced with the greateſt diligence. Peſcara, who had been obliged to take a longer and more difficult rout by Monaco and Final, was ſoon informed of their intention; and being ſenſible that nothing but the preſence of his troops could ſave the Milaneſe, marched with ſuch rapidity, that he reached Alva on the ſame day that the French army arrived at Varcelli. Francis, inſtructed by Bonnivet's error in the former campaign, advanced directly towards Milan, where the unexpected approach of an enemy ſo powerful, occaſioned ſuch conſternation and diſorder, that although Peſcara entered the city with ſome of

[d] Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 253.

of his beſt troops, he found that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of ſucceſs; and having thrown a garriſon into the citadel, retired through one gate, while the French were admitted at another [c]. Book IV. 1524.

THESE briſk motions of the French Monarch diſconcerted all the ſchemes of defence which the Imperialiſts had formed. Never, indeed, did generals attempt to oppoſe a formidable invaſion under ſuch circumſtances of diſadvantage. Though Charles poſſeſſed dominions more extenſive than any other Prince in Europe, and had, at this time, no other army but that which was employed in Lombardy, which did not amount to ſixteen thouſand men, his prerogative in all his different ſtates was ſo limited, and his ſubjects, without whoſe conſent he could raiſe no taxes, diſcovered ſuch unwillingneſs to burden themſelves with new or extraordinary impoſitions, that even this ſmall body of troops was in want of pay, of ammunition, of proviſions, and of clothing. In ſuch a ſituation, it required all the wiſdom of Lannoy, the intrepidity of Peſcara, and the implacable reſentment of Bourbon, to preſerve them from ſinking under deſpair, and to inſpire them with reſolution to attempt, or ſagacity to diſcover, what was eſſential to their ſafety. To the efforts of their genius, and the activity of their zeal, the Emperor was more indebted for the preſervation of his Italian dominions than to his own power. Lannoy, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples, procured ſome money, which was immediately applied towards providing the army with whatever was moſt neceſſary [f]. Peſcara, beloved and almoſt adored

Embarraſſing ſtate of the Imperialiſts.

[e] Mem. de Bellay, p. 81. Guic. l. xv. 278. [f] Guic. l. xv. 280.

Book IV. adored by the Spaniſh troops, exhorted them to ſhew the world, by their engaging to ſerve the
1524. Emperor, in that dangerous exigency, without making any immediate demand of pay, that they were animated with ſentiments of honour very different from thoſe of mercenary ſoldiers; to which propoſition, that gallant body of men, with an unexampled generoſity, gave their conſent [g]. Bourbon having raiſed a conſiderable ſum, by pawning his jewels, ſet out for Germany, where his influence was great, that by his preſence he might haſten the levying of troops for the Imperial ſervice [h].

Francis beſieges Pavia. FRANCIS, by a fatal error, allowed the Emperor's generals time to derive advantage from all theſe operations. Inſtead of purſuing the enemy, who retired to Lodi on the Adda, an untenable poſt, which Peſcara had reſolved to abandon on his approach, he, in compliance, with the opinion of Bonnivet, though contrary
October 28. to that of his other generals, laid ſiege to Pavia on the Teſino; a town, indeed, of great importance, the poſſeſſion of which would have opened to him all the fertile country lying on the banks of that river. But the fortifications of the place were ſtrong; it was dangerous to undertake a difficult ſiege, at ſo late a ſeaſon; and the Imperial generals, ſenſible of its conſequence, had thrown into the town a garriſon compoſed of ſix thouſand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer of high rank; of great experience; of a patient, but enterprizing courage; fertile in reſources; ambitious of diſtinguiſhing

[g] Jovii Vit. Davali, lib. v. p. 386. Sandov. vol. i. 621. Uiloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 94, &c. Vita dell Emper. Carlos V. per Vera y Zuniga, p. 36. [h] Mem. de Bellay, p. 83.

tinguiſhing himſelf; and capable, for that reaſon, as well as from his having been long accuſtomed both to obey and to command, of ſuffering or performing any thing in order to procure ſucceſs. Book IV. 1524.

His vigorous efforts.

Francis proſecuted the ſiege with obſtinacy equal to the raſhneſs with which he had undertaken it. During three months, every thing known to the engineers of that age, or that could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in order to reduce the place; while Lannoy and Peſcara, unable to obſtruct his operations, were obliged to remain in ſuch an ignominious ſtate of inaction, that a Paſquinade was publiſhed at Rome, offering a reward to any perſon who could find the Imperial army, loſt in the month of October in the mountains between France and Lombardy, and which had not been heard of ſince that time [i].

The town gallantly defended.

Leyva, well acquainted with the difficulties under which his countrymen laboured, and the impoſſibility of their facing, in the field, ſuch a powerful army as formed the ſiege of Pavia, placed his only hopes of ſafety in his own vigilance and valour. The efforts of both were extraordinary, and in proportion to the importance of the place, with the defence of which he was entruſted. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent and furious ſallies. Behind the breaches made by their artillery, he erected new works, which appeared to be ſcarcely inferior in ſtrength to the original fortifications. He repulſed the beſiegers in all their aſſaults; and by his own example, brought not only the garriſon, but the inhabitants, to bear the moſt intolerable

[i] Sandov. i. 608.

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intolerable fatigues, and to encounter the greateſt dangers without murmuring. The rigour of the ſeaſon conſpired with his endeavours in retarding the progreſs of the French. Francis attempting to become maſter of the town, by diverting the courſe of the Teſino, which is its defence on one ſide, a ſudden inundation of the river deſtroyed, in one day, the labour of many weeks, and ſwept away all the mounds which his army had raiſed with infinite toil, as well as at great expence [k].

The Pope concludes a treaty of neutrality.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſlow progreſs of the beſiegers, and the glory which Leyva acquired by his gallant defence, it was not doubted but that the town would at laſt be obliged to ſurrender. The Pope, who already conſidered the French arms as ſuperior in Italy, became impatient to diſengage himſelf from his connections with the Emperor, of whoſe deſigns he was extremely jealous, and to enter into terms of friendſhip with Francis. As Clement's timid and cautious temper rendered him incapable of following the bold plan which Leo had formed, of delivering Italy from the yoke of both the rivals, he returned to the more obvious and practicable ſcheme of employing the power of the one to balance and to reſtrain that of the other. For this reaſon, he did not diſſemble his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the French King recover Milan, as he hoped that the dread of ſuch a neighbour would be ſome check upon the Emperor's ambition, which no power in Italy was now able to controul. He laboured hard to bring about a peace that would ſecure Francis in poſſeſſion of his new conqueſts; and as Charles, who was always inflexible in the proſecution of his

[k] Guic. l. xv. 280. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 95.

his ſchemes, rejected the propoſition with diſdain, and with bitter exclamations againſt the Pope, by whoſe perſuaſions, while Cardinal de Medici, he had been induced to invade the Milaneſe, Clement immediately concluded a treaty of neutrality with the King of France, in which the republick of Florence was included [l]. BOOK IV. 1524.

FRANCIS having, by this tranſaction, deprived the Emperor of his two moſt powerful allies, and at the ſame time having ſecured a paſſage for his own troops through their territories, formed a ſcheme of attacking the kingdom of Naples, hoping either to over-run that country, which was left altogether without defence, or that at leaſt ſuch an unexpected invaſion would oblige the viceroy to recal part of the Imperial army out of the Milaneſe. For this purpoſe he ordered ſix thouſand men to march under the command of John Stuart duke of Albany. But Peſcara, foreſeeing that the effect of this diverſion would depend entirely upon the operations of the armies in the Milaneſe, perſuaded Lannoy to diſregard Albany's motions [m], and to bend his whole force againſt the King himſelf; ſo that Francis not only weakened his army very unſeaſonably by this great detachment, but incurred the reproach of engaging too raſhly in chimerical and extravagant projects. Francis invades Naples.

BY this time the garriſon of Pavia was reduced to extremity; their ammunition and proviſions began to fail; the Germans, of whom it was chiefly compoſed, having received no pay for ſeven months [n], threatened to deliver the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be reſtrained from mutiny by all Leyva's Efforts of Peſcara and Bourbon.

[l] Guic. l. xv. 282. 285. [m] Guic. l. xv. 285. [n] Gold. Polit. Imperial. 875.

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addreſs and authority. The Imperial generals, who were no ſtrangers to his ſituation, ſaw the neceſſity of marching without loſs of time to his relief. This they had now in their power: Twelve thouſand Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon taught to move with unuſual rapidity, had entered Lombardy under his command, and rendered the Imperial army nearly equal to that of the French, greatly diminiſhed by the abſence of the body under Albany, as well as by the fatigues of the ſiege, and the rigour of the ſeaſon. But the more their troops increaſed in number, the more ſenſibly did they feel the diſtreſs ariſing from want of money. Far from having funds for paying a powerful army, they had ſcarcely what was ſufficient for defraying the charges of conducting their artillery, and of carrying their ammunition and proviſions. The abilities of the generals, however, ſupplied every defect. By their own example, as well as by magnificent promiſes in name of the Emperor, they prevailed on the troops of all the different nations which compoſed their army, to take the field without pay; they engaged to lead them directly towards the enemy; and flattered them with the certain proſpect of victory, which would at once enrich them with ſuch royal ſpoils as would be an ample reward for all their ſervices. The ſoldiers ſenſible that, by quitting the army, they would forfeit the vaſt arrears due to them, and eager to get poſſeſſion of the promiſed treaſures, demanded a battle with all the impatience of adventurers who fight only for plunder [o].

THE

[o] Eryci Peuteani Hiſt. Ciſalpina ap. Grævii Theſ. Antiquit. Ital. iii. p. 1170. 1179.

1525.

THE Imperial generals, without ſuffering the ardour of their troops to cool, advanced immediately towards the French camp. On the firſt intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war, to deliberate what courſe he ought to take. All his officers of greateſt experience were unanimous in adviſing him to retire, and to decline a battle with an enemy who courted it from deſpair. The leaders of the Imperialiſts, they obſerved, would either be obliged in a few weeks to diſband an army, which they were unable to pay, and which they kept together only by the hope of pillage, or the ſoldiers enraged at the non-performance of the promiſes to which they had truſted, would riſe in ſome furious mutiny which would allow them to think of nothing but their own ſafety: That, meanwhile, he might encamp in ſome ſtrong poſt, and waiting in ſafety the arrival of freſh troops from France and Switzerland, might, before the end of ſpring, take poſſeſſion of all the Milaneſe, without danger or bloodſhed. But in oppoſition to them, Bonnivet, whoſe deſtiny it was to give counſels fatal to France during the whole campaign, repreſented the ignominy that it would reflect on their ſovereign, if he ſhould abandon a ſiege which he had proſecuted ſo long, or turn his back before an enemy to whom he was ſtill ſuperior in number; and inſiſted on the neceſſity of fighting the Imperialiſts rather than relinquiſh an undertaking, on the ſucceſs of which the King's future fame depended. Unfortunately, Francis's notions of honour were delicate to an exceſs that bordered on what was romantick. Having often ſaid that he would take Pavia, or periſh in the attempt, he thought himſelf bound not to depart from that reſolution; and rather than expoſe himſelf to the ſlighteſt imputation, he choſe

They march to attack the French. February 3.

to

Book IV. 1525. to forego all the advantages which were the certain conſequences of a retreat, and determined to wait for the Imperialiſts before the walls of Pavia [p].

Battle of Pavia. Feb. 24. The Imperial generals found the French ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that notwithſtanding the powerful motives which urged them on, they heſitated long before they ventured to attack them; but at laſt the neceſſities of the beſieged, and the murmurs of their own ſoldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with an higher opinion of the importance of the battle which they were going to fight; never were troops more ſtrongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, mutual reſentment, and all the paſſions which inſpire obſtinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young Monarch, ſeconded by a generous nobility, and followed by ſubjects to whoſe natural impetuoſity, indignation at the oppoſition which they had encountered, added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other ſide, troops more completely diſciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought from neceſſity, with courage heightened by deſpair. The Imperialiſts, however, were unable to reſiſt the firſt efforts of the French valour, and their firmeſt battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiſs in the ſervice of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their poſt in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garriſon, ſallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with ſuch fury as threw it

[p] Guic. l. xv. 291.

it into confuſion; and Peſcara falling on their cavalry, with the Imperial horſe, among whom he had prudently intermingled a conſiderable number of Spaniſh foot, armed with the heavy muſkets then in uſe, broke this formidable body by an unuſual method of attack, againſt which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became univerſal; and reſiſtance ceaſed in almoſt every part, but where the King was in perſon, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for ſafety. Though wounded in ſeveral places, and thrown from his horſe, which was killed under him, Francis defended himſelf on foot with an heroick courage. Many of his braveſt officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to ſave his life at the expence of their own, fell at his feet. Among theſe was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The King exhauſted with fatigue, and ſcarcely capable of farther reſiſtance, was left almoſt alone, expoſed to the fury of ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſtrangers to his rank, and enraged at his obſtinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, A French gentleman, who had entered together with Bourbon into the Emperor's ſervice, and placing himſelf by the ſide of the monarch againſt whom he had rebelled, aſſiſted in protecting him from the violence of the ſoldiers; at the ſame time beſeeching him to ſurrender to Bourbon, who was not far diſtant. Imminent as the danger was which now ſurrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded ſuch matter of triumph to his traitorous ſubject; and calling for Lannoy, who happened likewiſe to be near at hand, gave up his ſword to him; which he, kneeling to kiſs the King's hand, received with profound reſpect, and taking his own ſword from

The French army routed

Francis taken priſoner.

Book IV. 1525. from his ſide, preſented it to him, ſaying, That it did not become ſo great a Monarch to remain diſarmed in the preſence of one of the Emperor's ſubjects [q].

Ten thouſand men fell on this day, one of the moſt fatal France had ever ſeen. Among theſe were many noblemen of the higheſt diſtinction, who choſe rather to periſh than to turn their backs with diſhonour. Not a few were taken priſoners, of whom the moſt illuſtrious was Henry D'Albret, the unfortunate king of Navarre. A ſmall body of the rear guard made its eſcape under the command of the duke Alençon; the feeble garriſon of Milan, on the firſt news of the defeat, retired without being purſued, by another road; and in two weeks after the battle, not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

Lannoy, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmoſt attention. He was ſolicitous, not only to prevent any poſſibility of his eſcaping, but afraid that his own troops might ſeize his perſon, and detain it as the beſt ſecurity for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide againſt both theſe dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzichitonè near Cremona, committing him to the cuſtody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spaniſh infantry, an officer of great bravery, and of ſtrict honour, but remarkable for that

[q] Guic. l. xv. 292. Oeuv. de Brant. vi. 355. Mem. de Bellay, p. 90. Sandov. Hiſt. i. 638, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 805. 810. Ruſcelli Lettere de Principi, ii. p. 70. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 98.

that ſevere and ſcrupulous vigilance which ſuch a truſt required. Book IV. 1525.

Francis, who formed a judgment of the Emperor's diſpoſitions by his own, was extremely deſirous that Charles ſhould be informed of his ſituation, fondly hoping that, from his generoſity or ſympathy, he ſhould obtain ſpeedy relief. The Imperial generals were no leſs impatient to give their ſovereign an early account of the deciſive victory which they had gained, and to receive his inſtructions with regard to their future conduct. As the moſt certain and expeditious method of conveying intelligence to Spain, at that ſeaſon of the year, was by land, Francis gave the Commendador Pennaloſa, who was charged with Lannoy's diſpatches, a paſſport to travel through France.

Effects of this victory on Charles. March 10.

Charles received the account of this ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs that had crowned his arms, with a moderation, which, if it had been real, would have done him more honour than the greateſt victory. Without uttering one word expreſſive of exultation, or of intemperate joy, he retired immediately into his chapel, and having ſpent an hour in offering up his thankſgivings to heaven, returned to the preſence-chamber, which by that time was filled with grandees and foreign ambaſſadors, aſſembled in order to congratulate him. He accepted of their compliments with a modeſt deportment; he lamented the misfortune of the captive King, as a ſtriking example of the ſad reverſe of fortune, to which the moſt powerful Monarchs are ſubject; he forbad any public rejoicings, as indecent in a war carried on among Chriſtians, reſerving them until he ſhould obtain a victory equally

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equally illuſtrious over the Infidels; and ſeemed to take pleaſure in the advantage which he had gained, only as it would prove the occaſion of reſtoring peace to Chriſtendom [r].

The ſchemes he began to form.

CHARLES, however, had already begun to form ſchemes in his own mind, which little ſuited ſuch external appearances. Ambition, not generoſity, was the ruling paſſion in his mind; and the victory at Pavia opened ſuch new and unbounded proſpects of gratifying it, as allured him with irreſiſtible force: But it being no eaſy matter to execute the vaſt deſigns which he meditated, he thought it neceſſary, while proper meaſures were taking for that purpoſe, to affect the greateſt moderation, hoping under that veil to conceal his real intentions from the other Princes of Europe.

The general conſternation in France.

MEANWHILE France was filled with conſternation. The King himſelf had early tranſmitted an account of the rout at Pavia, in a letter to his mother, delivered by Pennaloſa, which contained only theſe words, "Madam, all is loſt, except our honour." The officers who made their eſcape, when they arrived from Italy, brought ſuch a melancholy detail of particulars as made all ranks of men ſenſibly feel the greatneſs and extent of the calamity. France, without its ſovereign, without money in her treaſury, without an army, without generals to command it, and encompaſſed on all ſides by a victorious and active enemy, ſeemed to be on the very brink of deſtruction. But on that occaſion the great abilities of Louiſe the regent ſaved the kingdom, which the violence of her paſſions had more than once expoſed to the greateſt danger.

The prudent conduct of the regent.

Inſtead

[r] Sandov. Hiſt. i. 651. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 110.

Inſtead of giving herſelf up to ſuch lamentations as were natural to a woman ſo remarkable for her maternal tenderneſs, ſhe diſcovered all the foreſight, and exerted all the activity, of a conſummate politician. She aſſembled the nobles at Lions, and animated them by her example, no leſs than by her words, with ſuch zeal in defence of their country, as its preſent ſituation required. She collected the remains of the army which had ſerved in Italy, ranſomed the priſoners, paid their arrears, and put them in a condition to take the field. She levied new troops, provided for the ſecurity of the frontiers, and raiſed ſums ſufficient for defraying theſe extraordinary expences. Her chief care, however, was to appeaſe the reſentment, or to gain the friendſhip of the King of England; and from that quarter, the firſt ray of comfort broke in upon the French affairs. Book IV. 1525.

Though Henry, in entering into alliances with Charles or Francis, ſeldom followed any regular or concerted plan of policy, but was influenced chiefly by the caprice of temporary paſſions, ſuch occurrences often happened as recalled his attention towards that equal balance of power which it was neceſſary to keep between the two contending potentates, the preſervation of which he always boaſted to be his peculiar office. He had expected that his union with the Emperor might afford him an opportunity of recovering ſome part of thoſe territories in France which had belonged to his anceſtors; and for the ſake of ſuch an acquiſition he did not ſcruple to give his aſſiſtance towards raiſing Charles to a conſiderable pre-eminence above Francis. He had never dreamt, however, of any event ſo deciſive and ſo fatal as the victory at Pavia, which ſeemed not only to have broken, but Effects of the victory at Pavia on Henry VIII.

Book IV. 1525. but to have annihilated the power of one of the rivals; ſo that the proſpect of the ſudden and entire revolution which this would occaſion in the political ſyſtem, filled him with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He ſaw all Europe in danger of being over-run by an ambitious prince, to whoſe power there now remained no counterpoiſe; and though he himſelf might at firſt be admitted, in quality of an ally, to ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of the captive monarch, it was eaſy to diſcern that with regard to the manner of making the partition, as well as his ſecurity for keeping poſſeſſion of what ſhould be allotted him, he muſt abſolutely depend upon the will of a confederate, to whoſe forces his own bore no proportion. He was ſenſible that if Charles were permitted to add any conſiderable part of France to the vaſt dominions of which he was already maſter, his neighbourhood would be much more formidable to England than that of the ancient French Kings; while, at the ſame time, the proper balance on the continent, to which England owed both its ſafety and importance, would be entirely loſt. Concern for the ſituation of the unhappy monarch co-operated with thoſe political conſiderations; his gallant behaviour in the battle of Pavia had excited an high degree of admiration, which never fails of augmenting ſympathy; and Henry, naturally ſuſceptible of generous ſentiments, was fond of appearing as the deliverer of a vanquiſhed enemy from a ſtate of captivity. The paſſions of the Engliſh miniſter ſeconded the inclinations of the Monarch. Wolſey, who had not forgotten the diſappointment of his hopes in two ſucceſſive conclaves, which he imputed chiefly to the Emperor, thought this a proper opportunity of taking revenge; and Louiſe, courting the friendſhip of England with ſuch

ſuch flattering ſubmiſſions as were no leſs agreeable to the King than to the Cardinal, Henry gave her ſecret aſſurances that he would not lend his aid towards oppreſſing France, in its preſent helpleſs ſtate, and obliged her to promiſe that ſhe would not conſent to diſmember the kingdom, even in order to procure her ſon's liberty [s].

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But as Henry's connections with the Emperor made it neceſſary to act in ſuch a manner as to ſave appearances, he ordered publick rejoicings to be made in his dominions for the ſucceſs of the Imperial arms; and as if he had been eager to ſeize the preſent opportunity of ruining the French monarchy, he ſent ambaſſadors to Madrid, to congratulate with Charles upon his victory; to put him in mind, that he, as his ally, engaged in one common cauſe, was entitled to partake in the fruits of it; and to require that, in compliance with the terms of their confederacy, he would invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to give him poſſeſſion of that province. At the ſame time, he offered to ſend the princeſs Mary into Spain or the Low Countries, that ſhe might be educated under the Emperor's direction, until the concluſion of the marriage agreed on between them; and in return for that mark of his confidence, he inſiſted that Francis ſhould be delivered to him, in conſequence of that article in the treaty of Bruges, whereby each of the contracting parties was bound to ſurrender all uſurpers to him whoſe rights they had invaded. It was impoſſible that Henry could expect that the Emperor would liſten to theſe extravagant demands, which it was neither his intereſt, nor in his

[s] Mem. de Bellay, 94. Guic. l. xvi. 318. Herbert.

Book IV. his power to grant. They appear evidently to have been made with no other intention than to furniſh him with a decent pretext for entering into ſuch engagements with France as the juncture required [t].

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On the Italian powers.

It was among the Italian ſtates, however, that the victory at Pavia occaſioned the greateſt alarm and terror. That balance of power on which they relied for their ſecurity, and which it had been the conſtant object of all their negociations and refinements to maintain, was deſtroyed in a moment. They were expoſed by their ſituation to feel the firſt effects of the uncontrouled authority which Charles had acquired. They obſerved many ſymptoms of a boundleſs ambition in that young prince, and were ſenſible that, as Emperor, or King of Naples, he could either form dangerous pretenſions upon each of their territories, or invade them with great advantage. They deliberated, therefore, with much ſolicitude concerning the means of raiſing ſuch a force as might obſtruct his progreſs [u]. But their conſultations, conducted with little union, and executed with leſs vigour, had no effect. Clement, inſtead of purſuing the meaſures which he had concerted with the Venetians for ſecuring the liberty of Italy, was ſo intimidated by Lannoy's threats, or overcome by his promiſes, that he entered into a ſeparate treaty, binding himſelf to advance a conſiderable ſum in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive. The money was inſtantly paid; Charles afterwards refuſed to ratify the treaty; and the Pope remained expoſed at once to infamy and to ridicule; to the former, becauſe he

April 1.

[t] Herbert, p. 64.

[u] Guic. l. xvi. 300. Ruſcelli Lettere de Princ. ii. 74. 76, &c. Thuani Hiſt. lib. i. c. 11.

he had deſerted the public cauſe for his private intereſt; to the latter, becauſe he had been a loſer by that unworthy action [x]. Book IV. 1525.

How diſhonourable ſoever the artifice might be which was employed in order to defraud the Pope of this ſum, it came very ſeaſonably into the viceroy's hands, and put it in his power to extricate himſelf out of an imminent danger. Soon after the defeat of the French army, the German troops, which had defended Pavia with ſuch meritorious courage and perſeverance, growing inſolent upon the fame that they had acquired, and impatient of relying any longer on fruitleſs promiſes with which they had been ſo often amuſed, rendered themſelves maſters of the town, with a reſolution to keep poſſeſſion of it as a ſecurity for the payment of their arrears; and the reſt of the army diſcovered a much ſtronger inclination to aſſiſt, than to puniſh the mutineers. By dividing among them the money exacted from the Pope, Lannoy quieted the tumultuous Germans; but though this ſatisfied their preſent demands, he had ſo little proſpect of being able to pay them or his other forces regularly for the future, and was under ſuch continual apprehenſions of their ſeizing the perſon of the captive King, that, not long after, he was obliged to diſmiſs all the Germans and Italians in the Imperial ſervice [y]. Thus, from a circumſtance that now appears very ſingular, but ariſing naturally from the conſtitution of moſt European governments in the ſixteenth century, while Charles was ſuſpected by all his neighbours of aiming at univerſal monarchy, and Mutiny in the Imperial army.

[x] Guic. lib. xvi. 305. Mauroceni Hiſtor. Venet. ap. Iſtorichi dell coſe Venez. V. 131. 136. [y] Guic. l. xvi. p. 302.

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and while he was really forming vaſt projects of this kind, his revenues were ſo limited, that he could not keep on foot his victorious army, though it did not exceed twenty-four thouſand men.

The emperor's deliberations concerning the manner of improving his victory.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles, whoſe pretenſions to moderation and diſintereſtedneſs were ſoon forgotten, deliberated, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, how he might derive the greateſt advantages from the misfortune of his adverſary. Some of his counſellors adviſed him to treat Francis with the magnanimity that became a victorious prince, and inſtead of taking advantage of his ſituation to impoſe rigorous conditions, to diſmiſs him on ſuch equal terms, as would bind him for ever to his intereſt by the ties of gratitude and affection, more forcible as well as more permanent than any which could be formed by extorted oaths and involuntary ſtipulations. Such an exertion of generoſity is not, perhaps, to be expected in the conduct of political affairs, and it was far too refined for that Prince to whom it was propoſed. The more obvious, but leſs ſplendid, ſcheme of endeavouring to make the utmoſt of Francis's calamity, had a greater number in the council to recommend it, and ſuited better with the Emperor's genius. But though Charles adopted this plan, he did not execute it in a proper manner. Inſtead of making one great effort to penetrate into France with all the forces of Spain and the Low-Countries; inſtead of cruſhing the Italian ſtates before they recovered from the conſternation which the ſucceſs of his arms had occaſioned, he had recourſe to the artifices of intrigue and negociation. This proceeded partly from neceſſity, partly from the natural diſpoſition of his mind. The ſituation of his finances,

finances, at that time, rendered it extremely difficult to carry on any extraordinary armament; and he himſelf having never appeared at the head of his armies, the command of which he had hitherto committed to his generals, was averſe to bold and martial counſels, and truſted more to the arts with which he was acquainted. He laid, beſides, too much ſtreſs upon the victory of Pavia, as if by that event the ſtrength of France had been annihilated, its reſources exhauſted, and the kingdom itſelf, no leſs than the perſon of its Monarch, had been ſubjected to his power.

The rigorous terms he propoſes to Francis.

FULL of this opinion, he determined to ſet the higheſt price upon Francis's freedom; and having ordered the Count de Roeux to viſit the captive King in his name, he inſtructed him to propoſe the following articles, as the conditions on which he would grant him his liberty: That he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor, from whoſe anceſtors it had been unjuſtly wreſted; that he ſhould ſurrender Provence and Dauphiné, that they might be erected into an independent kingdom for the Conſtable Bourbon; that he ſhould make full ſatisfaction to the King of England for all his claims, and finally renounce the pretenſions of France to Naples, Milan, or any other territory in Italy. When Francis, who had hitherto flattered himſelf that he ſhould be treated by the Emperor with the generoſity becoming one great Prince towards another, heard theſe rigorous conditions, he was ſo tranſported with indignation, that drawing his dagger haſtily, he cried out, "'Twere better that a King ſhould die thus." Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though he ſoon recovered greater compoſure, he ſtill declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would

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rather remain a priſoner during life, than purchaſe liberty by ſuch ignominious conceſſions [z].

Francis carried priſoner to Spain.

THIS mortifying diſcovery of the Emperor's intentions, greatly augmented Francis's chagrin and impatience under his confinement, and muſt have driven him to abſolute deſpair, if he had not laid hold of the only thing which could ſtill adminiſter any comfort to him. He perſuaded himſelf that the conditions which Roeux had propoſed, did not flow originally from Charles himſelf, but were dictated by the rigorous policy of his Spaniſh council, and that therefore he might hope, in one perſonal interview with him, to do more towards haſtening his own deliverance, than could be effected by long negociations paſſing through the ſubordinate hands of his miniſters. Relying on this ſuppoſition, which proceeded from too favourable an opinion of the Emperor's character, he offered to viſit him in Spain, and was willing to be carried thither as a ſpectacle to that haughty nation. Lannoy employed all his addreſs to confirm him in theſe ſentiments; and concerted with him in ſecret the manner of executing this reſolution. Francis was ſo eager on a ſcheme which ſeemed to open ſome proſpect of liberty, that he furniſhed the gallies neceſſary for the voyage, Charles being at that time unable to ſet any fleet to ſea. The viceroy, without communicating his intentions either to Bourbon or Peſcara, conducted his priſoner towards Genoa, under pretence of tranſporting him by ſea to Naples; though ſoon after they ſet ſail, he ordered the pilots to ſteer directly for Spain; but the wind happening to carry them near the French coaſt, the unfortunate Monarch had a full proſpect of his own dominions,

[z] Mem. de Bellay, 94. Ferreras, Hiſt. ix. 43.

dominions, towards which he caſt many a ſorrowful and deſiring look. They landed, however, in a few days at Barcelona; and ſoon after Francis was lodged, by the Emperor's command, in the Alcazar of Madrid, under the care of the vigilant Alarcon, who guarded him with as much circumſpection as ever [a]. BOOK IV. 1525. Auguſt 24.

A FEW days after Francis's arrival at Madrid, and when he began to be ſenſible of his having relied without foundation on the Emperor's generoſity, Henry VIII. concluded a treaty with the Regent of France, which afforded him ſome hope of liberty from another quarter. Henry's extravagant demands had been received at Madrid with that neglect which they deſerved, and which he probably expected. Charles, intoxicated with proſperity, no longer courted him in that reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner which pleaſed his haughty temper. Wolſey, no leſs haughty than his maſter, was highly irritated at the Emperor's diſcontinuing his wonted careſſes and profeſſions of friendſhip to himſelf. Theſe ſlight offences, added to the weighty conſiderations formerly mentioned, induced Henry to enter into a defenſive alliance with Louiſe, in which all the differences between him and her ſon were adjuſted; at the ſame time he engaged that he would employ his beſt offices in order to procure the deliverance of his new ally from a ſtate of captivity [b]. Henry VIII. concludes a treaty with France, in order to procure his releaſe.

WHILE the open defection of ſuch a powerful confederate affected Charles with deep concern, a ſecret conſpiracy was carrying on in Italy, which threatened him with conſequences ſtill more fatal. The reſtleſs and intriguing genius Moronè's intrigues, in order to overturn the Emperor's power in Italy.

[a] Mem. de Bellay, 95. P. Mart. Ep. ult. Guic. lib. xvi. 323. [b] Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 337.

Book IV. 1525. of Moronè, chancellor of Milan, gave riſe to this. His revenge had been amply gratified by the expulſion of the French out of Italy, and his vanity no leſs ſoothed by the re-eſtabliſhment of Sforza, to whoſe intereſt he had attached himſelf, in the dutchy of Milan. The delays, however, and evaſions of the Imperial court in granting Sforza the inveſtiture of his new-acquired territories, had long alarmed Moronè; theſe were repeated ſo often, and with ſuch apparent artifice, as became a full proof to his ſuſpicious mind that the Emperor intended to ſtrip his maſter of that rich country which he had conquered in his name. Though Charles, in order to quiet the Pope and Venetians, no leſs jealous of his deſigns than Moronè, gave Sforza, at laſt, the inveſtiture which had been ſo long deſired; the charter was clogged with ſo many reſervations, and ſubjected him to ſuch grievous burdens, as rendered the duke of Milan a dependant on the Emperor, rather than a vaſſal of the Empire, and afforded him hardly any other ſecurity for his poſſeſſions, than the good pleaſure of an ambitious ſuperior. Such an acceſſion of power as would have accrued from the addition of the Milaneſe to the kingdom of Naples, was conſidered by Moronè as fatal to the liberties of Italy, no leſs than to his own power and importance. Full of this idea, he began to revolve in his mind the poſſibility of reſcuing Italy from the yoke of foreigners, the darling ſcheme, as has been already obſerved, of the Italian politicians in that age, and which it was the great object of their ambition to accompliſh. If to the glory of having been the chief inſtrument in driving the French out of Milan, he could add that of delivering Naples from the dominion of the Spaniards, he thought that nothing would be wanting to complete his fame.

His

His fertile genius ſoon ſuggeſted to him a project for that purpoſe; a difficult, indeed, and daring one, but, for that very reaſon, more agreeable to his bold and enterprizing temper. Book IV. 1525.

His negociations with Peſcara.

Bourbon and Peſcara were equally enraged at Lannoy's carrying the French King into Spain without their knowledge. The former, being afraid that the two Monarchs might, in his abſence, conclude ſome treaty in which his intereſts would be entirely ſacrificed, haſtened to Madrid, in order to guard againſt that danger. The latter, on whom the command of the army now devolved, was obliged to remain in Italy; but, in every company, he gave vent to his indignation againſt the viceroy, in expreſſions full of rancour and contempt; he accuſed him, in a letter to the Emperor, of cowardice in the time of danger, and of inſolence after a victory, towards the obtaining of which he had contributed nothing either by his valour or his conduct; nor did he abſtain from bitter complaints againſt the Emperor himſelf, who had not diſcovered, as he imagined, a ſufficient ſenſe of his merit, nor beſtowed any adequate reward on his ſervices. It was on this diſguſt of Peſcara, that Moronè founded his whole ſyſtem. He knew the boundleſs ambition of his nature, the vaſt extent of his abilities in peace as well as war, and the intrepidity of his mind, capable alike of undertaking and of executing the moſt deſperate deſigns. The cantonment of the Spaniſh troops on the frontier of the Milaneſe, gave occaſion to many interviews between him and Moronè, in which the latter took care frequently to turn the converſation to the tranſactions ſubſequent to the battle of Pavia, a ſubject upon which the marquis always entered willingly, and with paſſion; and Moronè obſerving his reſentment

Book IV. 1525. ment to be uniformly violent, artfully pointed out and aggravated every circumſtance that could increaſe its fury. He painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the Emperor's want of diſcernment, as well as of gratitude, in preferring Lannoy to him, and in allowing that preſumptuous Fleming to diſpoſe of the captive King, without conſulting the man to whoſe bravery and wiſdom Charles was indebted for the glory of having him in his power. Having warmed him by ſuch diſcourſes, he then began to inſinuate, that now was the time to be avenged for theſe inſults, and to acquire immortal renown as the deliverer of his country from the oppreſſion of ſtrangers; that the ſtates of Italy, weary of the ignominious and intolerable dominion of barbarians, were at laſt ready to combine in order to vindicate their own independence; that their eyes were fixed on him, as the only leader whoſe genius and good fortune could enſure the happy ſucceſs of that noble enterprize; that the attempt was no leſs practicable than glorious, it being in his power ſo to diſperſe the Spaniſh infantry, the only body of the Emperor's troops in Italy, through the villages of the Milaneſe, that, in one night, they might be deſtroyed by the people, who, having ſuffered much from their exactions and inſolence, would gladly undertake this ſervice; that he might then, without oppoſition, take poſſeſſion of the throne of Naples, the ſtation deſtined for him, and a reward not unworthy the reſtorer of liberty to Italy; that the Pope, of whom that kingdom held, and whoſe predeceſſors had diſpoſed of it on many former occaſions, would willingly grant him the right of inveſtiture; that the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, to whom he had communicated the ſcheme, together with the French, would be the guarantees of his right; that

that the Neapolitans would naturally prefer the government of one of their countrymen, whom they loved and admired, to that odious dominion of ſtrangers, to which they had been ſo long ſubjected; and that the Emperor, aſtoniſhed at a blow ſo unexpected, would find that he had neither troops nor money to reſiſt ſuch a powerful confederacy [c].

Betrayed and taken priſoner by Peſcara.

Pescara, amazed at the boldneſs and extent of the ſcheme, liſtened attentively to Moronè, but with the countenance of a man loſt in profound and anxious thought. On the one hand, the infamy of betraying his ſovereign, under whom he bore ſuch high command, deterred him from the attempt; on the other, the proſpect of obtaining a crown allured him to venture upon it. After continuing a ſhort ſpace in ſuſpence, the leaſt commendable motives, as is uſual after ſuch deliberations, prevailed, and ambition triumphed over honour. In order, however, to throw a colour of decency on his conduct, he inſiſted that ſome learned caſuiſts ſhould give their opinion, "Whether it was lawful for a ſubject to take arms againſt his immediate ſovereign, in obedience to the Lord Paramount of whom the kingdom itſelf was held?" Such a reſolution of the caſe, as he expected, was ſoon obtained from the divines and civilians both of Rome and Milan; the negociation went forward; and meaſures ſeemed to be taking with great ſpirit for the ſpeedy execution of the deſign.

During

[c] Guic. l. xvi. 325. Jovii Vita Davali, p. 417. Oeuv. de Brantome, iv. 171. Ruſcelli Lettre de Princ. ii. 91. Thuani Hiſt. lib. i. c. 11. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 207.

BOOK IV. 1525. DURING this interval, Peſcara, either ſhocked at the treachery of the action that he was going to commit, or deſpairing of its ſucceſs, began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the engagements which he had come under. The indiſpoſition of Sforza, who happened at that time to be taken ill of a diſtemper which was thought mortal, confirmed this reſolution, and determined him to make known the whole conſpiracy to the Emperor; deeming it more prudent to expect the dutchy of Milan from him, as the reward of this diſcovery, than to aim at a kingdom, to be purchaſed by a ſeries of crimes. This reſolution, however, proved the ſource of actions hardly leſs criminal and ignominious. The Emperor, who had already received full information concerning the conſpiracy from other hands, ſeemed to be highly pleaſed with Peſcara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue his intrigues for ſome time with the Pope and Sforza, both that he might diſcover their intentions more fully, and be able to convict them of the crime with greater certainty. Peſcara, conſcious of guilt, as well as ſenſible how ſuſpicious his long ſilence muſt have appeared at Madrid, durſt not decline that diſhonourable office, and, to his eternal diſgrace, was obliged to act the meaneſt of all parts, that of ſeducing with a purpoſe to betray. Conſidering the abilities of the perſons with whom he had to deal, the part was ſcarcely leſs difficult than baſe; but he acted it with ſuch addreſs, as to deceive even the penetrating eye of Moronè, who, relying with full confidence on his ſincerity, viſited him at Novara, in order to put the laſt hand to their machinations. Peſcara received him in an apartment where Antonio de Leyva was placed behind the tapeſtry, that he might overhear and bear witneſs to their converſation: as

Moronè

Moronè was about to take leave, that officer ſuddenly appeared, and, to his aſtoniſhment, arreſted him priſoner in the Emperor's name. He was conducted to the caſtle of Pavia; and Peſcara, who had ſo lately been his accomplice, had now the aſſurance to interrogate him as his judge. At the ſame time, the Emperor declared Sforſa to have forfeited all right to the dutchy of Milan, by his engaging in a conſpiracy againſt the ſovereign of whom he held; Peſcara, by his command, ſeized on every place in the Milaneſe, except the caſtles of Cremona and Milan, which, the unfortunate duke attempting to defend, were cloſely blockaded by the Imperial troops [d].

1525.

The rigorous treatment of Francis in Spain.

But though this unſucceſsful conſpiracy, inſtead of ſtripping the Emperor of what he already poſſeſſed in Italy, contributed to extend his dominions in that country, it ſhewed him the neceſſity of coming to ſome agreement with the French King, unleſs he would draw on himſelf a confederacy of all Europe, which the progreſs of his arms, and his ambition, now as undiſguiſed as it was boundleſs, filled with general alarm. He had not hitherto treated Francis with the generoſity which that monarch expected, and hardly with the decency due to his ſtation. Inſtead of diſplaying the ſentiments becoming a great Prince, he ſeems to have acted with the mercenary art of a corſair, who, by the rigorous uſage of his priſoners, endeavours to draw from them an high price for their ranſom. The captive King was confined in an old caſtle, under a keeper, whoſe formal auſterity of manners rendered his vigilance ſtill more diſguſtful. He was allowed

[d] Guic. l. xvi. 329. Jovii Hiſt. 319. Capella, lib. v. p. 200.

Book IV. allowed no exerciſe but that of riding on a mule, ſurrounded with armed guards on horſeback. Charles, on pretence of its being neceſſary to attend the Cortes aſſembled in Toledo, had gone to reſide in that city, and ſuffered ſeveral weeks to elapſe without viſiting Francis, though he ſolicited an interview with the moſt preſſing and ſubmiſſive importunity. So many indignities made a deep impreſſion on an high ſpirited Prince; he began to loſe all reliſh for his uſual amuſements; his natural gaiety of temper forſook him; and after languiſhing for ſome time, he was ſeized with a dangerous fever, during the violence of which he complained conſtantly of the unexpected and unprincely rigour with which he had been treated, often exclaiming, that now the Emperor would have the ſatisfaction of his dying a priſoner in his hands, without having once deigned to ſee his face. The phyſicians, at laſt, deſpaired of his life, and informed the Emperor that they ſaw no hope of his recovery, unleſs he were gratified with regard to that point on which he ſeemed to be ſo ſtrongly bent. Charles, ſolicitous to preſerve a life, with which all his proſpects of farther advantage from the victory of Pavia muſt have terminated, immediately conſulted his miniſters concerning the courſe to be taken. In vain did the chancellor Gattinara, the moſt able among them, repreſent to him the indecency of his viſiting Francis, if he did not intend to ſet him at liberty immediately upon equal terms; in vain did he point out the infamy to which he would be expoſed, if motives of avarice or ambition ſhould prevail on him to give the captive Monarch this mark of attention and ſympathy, for which humanity and generoſity had pleaded ſo long without effect. The Emperor, leſs delicate, or leſs ſolicitous about reputation than his

1525.

Endangers his life.

his miniſter, ſet out for Madrid to viſit his priſoner. The interview was ſhort; Francis being too weak to bear a long converſation. Charles accoſted him in terms full of affection and reſpect, and gave him ſuch promiſes of ſpeedy deliverance and princely treatment, as would have reflected the greateſt honour upon him, if they had flowed from another ſource. Francis graſped at them with the eagerneſs natural in his ſituation; and cheered with this gleam of hope, began to revive from that moment, recovering rapidly his wonted health [e]. Book IV. 1525. Sept. 28. The Emperor viſits him.

He had ſoon the mortification to find, that his confidence in the Emperor was not better founded than formerly. Charles returned inſtantly to Toledo; all negociations were carried on by his miniſters; and Francis was kept in as ſtrict cuſtody as ever. A new indignity, and that very galling, was added to all thoſe he had already ſuffered. Bourbon arriving in Spain about this time, Charles, who had ſo long refuſed to viſit the king, received his rebellious ſubject with the moſt ſtudied reſpect. He met him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him with the greateſt affection, and placing him on his left hand, conducted him to his apartment. Theſe marks of honour to him, were ſo many inſults to the unfortunate Monarch; which he felt in a very ſenſible manner. It afforded him ſome conſolation, however, to obſerve, that the ſentiments of the Spaniards, differed widely from thoſe of the ſovereign. That generous people deteſted Bourbon's crime. Notwithſtanding his great talents and important ſervices, they ſhunned all intercourſe with him, to ſuch a degree, that Charles having deſired The conſtable Bourbon arrives at Madrid. Nov. 15.

[e] Guic. l. xvi. 339. Sandov. Hiſt. i. 665.

BOOK IV. 1525. ſired the marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reſide in his palace while the court remained in Toledo, he politely replied, "That he could not refuſe gratifying the Emperor in that requeſt;" but added with a Caſtilian dignity of mind, "that he muſt not be ſurprized if the moment the conſtable departed, he ſhould burn to the ground a houſe, which, having been polluted by the preſence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour [f]."

Appointed general of the Imperial army in Italy.

CHARLES himſelf, nevertheleſs, ſeemed to have it much at heart to reward Bourbon's ſervices in a ſignal manner. But as he inſiſted, in the firſt place, on the accompliſhment of the Emperor's promiſe in giving him in marriage his ſiſter Eleanora, Queen dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been one of his chief inducements to rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign; as Francis, in order to prevent ſuch a dangerous union, had offered, before he left Italy, to marry that Princeſs; and as Eleanora herſelf diſcovered an inclination rather to match with a powerful Monarch, than with his exiled ſubject; all theſe interfering circumſtances created great embarraſſment to Charles, and left him hardly any hope of extri-

December. cating himſelf with decency. But the death of Peſcara, who, at the age of thirty-ſix, left behind him the reputation of being one of the greateſt generals and ableſt politicians of that century, happened opportunely at this juncture for his relief. By that event, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and Charles, always fertile in reſources, perſuaded Bourbon, who was in no condition to diſpute his will, to accept the office of general in chief there, together

[f] Guic. l. xvi 335.

gether with a grant of the dutchy of Milan forfeited by Sforza, and in return for theſe to relinquiſh all hopes of marrying the Queen of Portugal [g]. Book IV. 1525.

Negociations for procuring Francis's liberty.

THE chief obſtacle that ſtood in the way of Francis's liberty was the Emperor's continuing to inſiſt ſo peremptorily on the reſtitution of Burgundy, as a preliminary to that event. Francis often declared that he would never conſent to diſmember his ſtate; and that even if he ſhould ſo far forget the duties of a Monarch as to come to ſuch a reſolution, the fundamental laws of the kingdom would prevent its taking effect. On his part he was willing to make an abſolute ceſſion to the Emperor of all his pretenſions in Italy and the Low-Countries; he promiſed to reſtore Bourbon all his lands which had been confiſcated; he renewed his propoſal of marrying the Emperor's ſiſter, the Queen dowager of Portugal; and engaged to pay a great ſum by way of ranſom for his own perſon. But all mutual eſteem and confidence between the two monarchs were now entirely loſt; there appeared on the one hand, a rapacious ambition labouring to avail itſelf of every favourable circumſtance; on the other, ſuſpicion and reſentment, ſtanding perpetually on their guard; ſo that the proſpect of bringing their negociations to an iſſue, ſeemed to be far diſtant. The dutcheſs of Alençon, the French King's ſiſter, whom Charles permitted to viſit her brother in his confinement, employed all her addreſs, in order to procure his liberty on more reaſonable terms. Henry of England interpoſed his good offices to the ſame purpoſe; but both with ſo little ſucceſs, that Francis in deſpair took ſuddenly

Francis in deſpair reſolves to reſign his crown.

[g] Sandov. Hiſt. i. 676. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 249

Book IV. 1525.

denly the reſolution of reſigning his crown with all its rights and prerogatives to his ſon the Dauphin, determining rather to end his days in priſon, than to purchaſe his freedom by conceſſions unworthy of a King. The deed for this purpoſe he ſigned with legal formality at Madrid, empowering his ſiſter to carry it into France, that it might be regiſtered in all the parliaments of the kingdom; and at the ſame time intimating his intention to the Emperor, he deſired him to name the place of his confinement, and to aſſign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days [h].

Charles alarmed.

THIS reſolution of the French King had great effect; Charles began to be ſenſible, that by puſhing rigour to exceſs, he might defeat his own meaſures, and inſtead of the vaſt advantages which he hoped to draw from ranſoming a powerful monarch, he might at laſt find in his hands a Prince without dominions or revenues. About the ſame time, one of the King of Navarre's domeſtics happened by an extraordinary exertion of fidelity, courage, and addreſs, to procure his maſter an opportunity of eſcaping from the priſon in which he had been confined ever ſince the battle of Pavia. This convinced the Emperor, that the moſt vigilant attention of his officers might be eluded by the ingenuity or boldneſs of Francis, or his attendants, and one unlucky hour might deprive him of all the advantages which he had been ſo ſolicitous to obtain. By theſe conſiderations, he was induced to abate ſomewhat of his former demands. On the other hand, Francis's impatience under confinement daily increaſed;

[h] This paper is publiſhed in Memoires Hiſtoriques, &c. par M. l'Abbe Raynal, tom. ii. p. 151.

increaſed; and having received certain intelligence of a powerful league forming againſt his rival in Italy, he grew more compliant with regard to conceſſions, truſting, that, if he could once obtain his liberty, he would ſoon be in a condition to reſume whatever he had yielded. 1525.

As theſe were the views and ſentiments of the two Monarchs, the treaty which procured Francis his liberty was ſigned at Madrid on the fourteenth of January, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix. The article with regard to Burgundy, which had hitherto created the greateſt difficulty, was compromiſed, Francis engaging to reſtore that dutchy with all its dependencies in full ſovereignty to the Emperor; and Charles conſenting that this reſtitution ſhould not be made until the King was ſet at liberty: in order to ſecure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions in the treaty, Francis agreed that at the ſame inſtant he himſelf was releaſed, he would deliver as hoſtages to the Emperor, his eldeſt ſon the Dauphin, his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of his principal nobility, to be named by Charles. The other articles ſwelled to a great number, and though not of ſuch importance, were extremely rigorous. Among theſe the moſt remarkable were, that Francis ſhould renounce all his pretenſions in Italy; that he ſhould diſclaim any title which he had to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; that within ſix weeks after his releaſe, he ſhould reſtore to Bourbon and his adherents, all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and make them full reparation for the damages which they had ſuſtained by the confiſcation of them; that he ſhould uſe his intereſt with Henry d'Albret to relinquiſh his pretenſions to the crown of Navarre, 1526. Treaty of Madrid.

Book IV. varre, and ſhould not for the future aſſiſt him in any attempt to recover it; that there ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the Emperor and Francis a league of perpetual friendſhip and confederacy, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance in every caſe of neceſſity. That in corroboration of this union, Francis ſhould marry the Emperor's ſiſter, the Queen Dowager of Portugal; that Francis ſhould cauſe all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the States, and regiſtered in the parliaments of his kingdom; that upon the Emperor's receiving this ratification, the hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty; but in their place, the duke of Angouleme, the King's third ſon, ſhould be delivered to Charles, that in order to manifeſt, as well as to ſtrengthen the amity between the two Monarchs, he might be educated at the Imperial court; and that if Francis did not, within the time limited, fulfil the ſtipulations in the treaty, he ſhould promiſe, upon his honour and oath, to return into Spain, and to ſurrender himſelf again a priſoner to the Emperor [i].

1526.

Sentiments of that age with reſpect to it.

By this treaty, Charles flattered himſelf that he had not only effectually humbled his rival, but that he had taken ſuch precautions as would for ever prevent his re-attaining any formidable degree of power. The opinion, which the wiſeſt politicians formed concerning it, was very different; they could not perſuade themſelves that Francis, after obtaining his liberty, would execute articles againſt which he had ſtruggled ſo long, and to which, even amidſt the horrors of captivity, he had conſented with ſuch reluctance. Ambition and reſentment, they knew, would

[i] Recuil des Trait. tom. ii. 112. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 102, &c.

would conſpire in prompting him to violate the hard conditions to which he had been conſtrained to ſubmit; nor would arguments and caſuiſtry be wanting to repreſent that which was ſo manifeſtly advantageous, to be neceſſary and juſt. If one part of Francis's conduct had been known, at that time, this opinion might have been founded, not in conjecture, but in certainty. A few hours before he ſigned the treaty, he aſſembled ſuch of his counſellors as were then at Madrid, and having exacted from them a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy, he made a long enumeration in their preſence of the diſhonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour, which the emperor had employed in order to enſnare or intimidate him. For that reaſon, he took a formal proteſt in the hands of notaries, that his conſent to the treaty ſhould be conſidered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void [k]. By this diſingenuous artifice, for which even the treatment that he had met with was no apology, Francis endeavoured to ſatisfy his honour and conſcience in ſigning the treaty, and to provide at the ſame time a pretext on which to break it.

1526.

Francis ſecretly proteſts againſt the validity of it.

Great, meanwhile, were the outward demonſtrations of love and confidence between the two Monarchs; they appeared often together in public; they frequently had long conferences in private; they travelled in the ſame litter, and joined in the ſame amuſements. But amidſt theſe ſigns of peace and friendſhip, the Emperor ſtill harboured ſuſpicion in his mind. Though the ceremonies of the marriage between Francis and the Queen of Portugal were performed ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, Charles would not permit him to conſummate it until

[k] Recueil des Trait. tom. ii. p. 107.

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the return of the ratification from France. Even then Francis was not allowed to be at full liberty; his guards were ſtill continued; though careſſed as a brother-in-law, he was ſtill watched like a priſoner; and it was obvious to attentive obſervers, that an union, in the very beginning of which there might be diſcerned ſuch ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſtruſt, could not be cordial, or of long continuance[1].

Ratified in France.

About a month after the ſigning of the treaty, the Regent's ratification of it was brought from France; and that wiſe Princeſs, preferring, on this occaſion, the publick good to domeſtick affection, informed her ſon, that, inſtead of the twelve noblemen named in the treaty, ſhe had ſent the duke of Orleans along with his brother the Dauphin to the frontier, as the kingdom could ſuffer nothing by the abſence of a child, but muſt be left almoſt incapable of defence, if deprived of its ableſt ſtateſmen, and moſt experienced generals, whom Charles had artfully included in his nomination. At laſt Francis took leave of the Emperor, whoſe ſuſpicion of the King's ſincerity increaſing, as the time of putting it to the proof approached, he endeavoured to bind them ſtill faſter by exacting new promiſes, which, after thoſe he had already made, the French monarch was not ſlow to grant. He ſet out from Madrid, a place which the remembrance of many afflicting circumſtances rendered peculiarly odious to him, with the joy natural on ſuch an occaſion, and began the long-wiſhed for journey towards his own dominions. He was eſcorted by a body of horſe under the command of Alarcon, who, as the King drew near the frontiers of France, guarded

Francis ſet at liberty.

[1] Guic. l. xvi. 353.

guarded him with more ſcrupulous exactneſs than ever. When he arrived at the river Andaye, which ſeparates the two kingdoms, Lautrec appeared on the oppoſite bank with a guard of horſe equal in number to Alarcon's. An empty bark was moored in the middle of the ſtream; the attendants drew up in order on the oppoſite banks; at the ſame inſtant, Lannoy with eight gentlemen put off from the Spaniſh, and Lautrec with the ſame number from the French ſide of the river; the former had the King in his boat; the latter, the Dauphin and duke of Orleans; they met in the empty veſſel; the exchange was made in a moment; Francis, after a ſhort embrace to his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French ſhore. He mounted that inſtant a Turkiſh horſe, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice crying aloud ſeveral times, "I am yet a King," galloped full ſpeed to St John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne. This event, no leſs impatiently deſired by the French nation than by their Monarch, happened on the eighteenth of March, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia [m].

1526.

The Emperor's marriage with Iſabella of Portugal.

Soon after the Emperor had taken leave of Francis, and permitted him to begin his journey towards his own dominions, he ſet out for Seville, in order to ſolemnize his marriage with Iſabella, the daughter of Emanuel, the late King of Portugal, and the ſiſter of John III. who had ſucceeded him in the throne of that kingdom. Iſabella was a princeſs of uncommon beauty and accompliſhments; and as the Cortes both in Caſtile and Aragon had warmly ſolicited their ſovereign to marry, the choice of

[m] Sandov. Hiſt. i. 735. Guic. l. xvi. 355.

Book IV. 1526. a wife ſo nearly allied to the royal blood of both kingdoms, was extremely acceptable to his ſubjects. The Portugueſe, fond of this new connection with the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom, granted him an extraordinary dowry with Iſabella, amounting to nine hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum, which, from the ſituation of his affairs at that juncture, was of no ſmall conſequence to the Emperor. The marriage was celebrated with that ſplendour and gaiety, which became a great and youthful Prince. Charles lived with Iſabella in perfect harmony, and treated her on all occaſions with much diſtinction and regard [n].

March 12.

Affairs of Germany.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles could hardly give any attention to the affairs of Germany, though it was torn in pieces by commotions, which threatened the moſt dangerous conſequences. By the feudal inſtitutions, which ſtill ſubſiſted almoſt unimpaired in the Empire, the property of lands was veſted in the Princes, and free-barons. Their vaſſals held of them by the ſtricteſt and moſt limited tenures; while the great body of the people was kept in a ſtate but little removed from abſolute ſervitude. In ſome places of Germany, people of the loweſt claſs were ſo entirely in the power of their maſters, as to be ſubject to perſonal and domeſtick ſlavery, the moſt rigorous form of that wretched ſtate. In other provinces, particularly in Bohemia and Luſatia, the peaſants were bound to remain on the lands to which they belonged, and making part of the eſtate, were transferred like any other property from one hand

Grievances of the peaſants.

[n] Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 106. Belcarius Com. Rer. Gallic. p. 565. Spalatinus ap. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. ii. 1081.

hand to another. Even in Suabia, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine, where their condition was moſt tolerable, the peaſants not only paid the full rent of their farms to the landlord; but if they choſe either to change the place of their abode, or to follow a new profeſſion, they were obliged to purchaſe this privilege at a certain price. Beſide this, all grants of lands to peaſants expired at their death, without deſcending to their poſterity. Upon that event, the landlord had a right to the beſt of their cattle, as well as of their furniture; and their heirs, in order to obtain a renewal of the grant, were obliged to pay large ſums by way of fine. Theſe exactions, though grievous, were born with patience, becauſe they were cuſtomary and ancient: But when the progreſs of elegance and luxury, as well as the changes introduced into the art of war, came to increaſe the expence of government, and made it neceſſary for princes to levy occaſional or ſtated taxes on their ſubjects, ſuch impoſitions being new, appeared intolerable; and in Germany, theſe duties being laid chiefly upon beer, wine, and other neceſſaries of life, affected the common people in the moſt ſenſible manner. The addition of ſuch a load to their former burdens, drove them to deſpair. It was to the valour inſpired by reſentment againſt impoſitions of this kind, that the Swiſs owed the acquiſition of their liberty in the fourteenth century. The ſame cauſe had excited the peaſants in ſeveral other provinces of Germany to rebel againſt their ſuperiors towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the ſixteenth centuries; and though theſe inſurrections were not attended with like ſucceſs, they could not, however, be quelled without much difficulty and bloodſhed [o].

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By

[o] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 2, 6.

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1526. Their inſurrection in Suabia.

By theſe checks, the ſpirit of the peaſants was overawed rather than ſubdued; and their grievances multiplying continually, they ran to arms, this year, with the moſt frantic rage. Their firſt appearance was near Ulm in Suabia. The peaſants in the adjacent country flocked to their ſtandard with the ardour and impatience natural to men, who having groaned long under oppreſſion, beheld at laſt ſome proſpect of deliverance; and the contagion ſpreading from province to province, reached almoſt every part of Germany. Wherever they came, they plundered the monaſteries; waſted the lands of their ſuperiors; razed their caſtles, and maſſacred without mercy all perſons of noble birth who were ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands [p]. Having intimidated their oppreſſors, as they imagined, by the violence of theſe proceedings, they began to conſider what would be the moſt proper and effectual method of ſecuring themſelves for the future from their tyrannical exactions. With this view, they drew up and publiſhed a memorial, containing all their demands, and declared, that while arms were in their hands, they would either perſuade or oblige the nobles to give them full ſatisfaction with regard to theſe. The chief articles were, that they might have liberty to chuſe their own paſtors; that they might be freed from the payment of all tythes except thoſe of corn; that they might no longer be conſidered as the ſlaves or bondmen of their ſuperiors; that the liberty of hunting and fiſhing might be common; that the great foreſts might not be regarded as private property, but be open for the uſe of all; that they might be delivered from the unuſual burden

[p] Petr. Crinitus de Bello Ruſticano, ap. Freher. Script. Rer. Germ. Argent. 1717. vol. iii. p. 243.

burden of taxes under which they laboured; that the adminiſtration of juſtice might be rendered leſs rigorous and more impartial; that the encroachments of the nobles upon meadows and commons might be reſtrained [q]. BOOK IV. 1526.

MANY of theſe demands were extremely reaſonable; and being urged by ſuch formidable numbers, might have met with ſome redreſs. But thoſe vaſt unwieldy bodies, aſſembled in different places, had neither union, nor conduct, nor vigour. Being led by perſons of the loweſt rank, without ſkill in war, or knowledge of what was neceſſary for accompliſhing their deſigns; all their exploits were diſtinguiſhed only by a brutal and unmeaning fury. To oppoſe this, the princes and nobles of Suabia and the Lower Rhine raiſed their vaſſals, and attacking ſome of the mutineers with open force, and others by ſurprize, cut to pieces or diſperſed all who infeſted thoſe provinces; ſo that the peaſants, after ruining the open country, and loſing upwards of twenty thouſand of their aſſociates in the field, were obliged to return to their habitations with leſs hope than ever of relief from their grievances [r]. Quelled.

THESE commotions happened at firſt in provinces of Germany where Luther's opinions had made little progreſs; and being excited wholly by political cauſes, had no connection with the diſputed points in religion. But the frenzy reaching at laſt thoſe countries in which the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, derived new ſtrength from circumſtances peculiar to them, and roſe to Their inſurrection in Thuringia.

[q] Sleid. Hiſt. p 90. [r] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 10. Petr. Gnodalius de Ruſticanorum Tumultu in Germania, ap. Scard. Script. vol. ii. p. 131, &c.

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to a ſtill greater pitch of extravagance. The Reformation, wherever it was received, increaſed that bold and innovating ſpirit to which it owed its birth. Men who had the courage to overturn a ſyſtem ſupported by every thing which can command reſpect or reverence, were not to be overawed by any authority, how great or venerable ſoever. After having been accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as judges of the moſt important doctrines in religion, to examine theſe freely, and to reject, without ſcruple, what appeared to them erroneous, it was natural for them to turn the ſame daring and inquiſitive eye towards government, and to think of rectifying whatever diſorders or imperfections were diſcovered there. As religious abuſes had been reformed in ſeveral places without the permiſſion of the magiſtrate, it was an eaſy tranſition to attempt the redreſs of political grievances in the ſame manner.

More formidable.

No ſooner, then, did the ſpirit of revolt break out in Thuringia, a province ſubject to the Elector of Saxony, the inhabitants of which were moſtly converts to Lutheraniſm, than it aſſumed a new and more dangerous form. Thomas Muncer, one of Luther's diſciples, having eſtabliſhed himſelf in that country, had acquired a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of the people. He propagated among them the wildeſt and moſt enthuſiaſtick notions, but ſuch as tended manifeſtly to inſpire them with boldneſs, and lead them to ſedition. "Luther, he told them, had done more hurt than ſervice to religion. He had, indeed, reſcued the church from the yoke of Popery, but his doctrines encouraged, and his life ſet an example of the utmoſt licentiouſneſs of manners. In order to avoid vice,

Their fanatical ſpirit.

ſays

ſays he, men muſt practiſe perpetual mortifi- Book IV.
cation. They muſt put on a grave countenance, 1526.
ſpeak little, wear a plain garb, and be ſerious in their whole deportment. Such as prepare their hearts in this manner, may expect that the Supreme Being will direct all their ſteps, and by ſome viſible ſign diſcover his will to them; if that illumination be at any time with-held, we may expoſtulate with the Almighty, who, deals with us ſo harſhly, and remind him of his promiſes. This expoſtulation and anger will be highly acceptable to God, and will at laſt prevail on him to guide us with the ſame unerring hand which conducted the patriarchs of old. Let us beware, however, of offending him by our arrogance; but as all men are equal in his eye, let them return to that condition of equality in which he formed them, and having all things in common, let them live together like brethren, without any marks of ſubordination or pre-eminence [s]."

EXTRAVAGANT as theſe tenets were, they flattered ſo many paſſions in the human heart, as to make a deep impreſſion. To aim at nothing more than the abridging the power of the nobility, was now conſidered as a trifling and partial reformation, not worth the contending for; it was propoſed to level every diſtinction among mankind, and by aboliſhing property, to reduce them to their natural ſtate of equality, in which all ſhould receive their ſubſiſtence from one common ſtock. Muncer aſſured them, that the deſign was approved of by heaven, and that the Almighty had in a dream aſcertained him of its ſucceſs. The peaſants ſet about the execution of it, not only with the rage which animated

[s] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 13. Sleid. Hiſt. p. 83.

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mated thoſe of their order in other parts of Germany, but with the ardour which enthuſiaſm inſpires. They depoſed the magiſtrates in all the cities of which they were maſters; ſeized the lands of the nobles, and obliged ſuch of them as they got into their hands, to put on the dreſs commonly worn by peaſants, and inſtead of their former titles, to be ſatisfied with the appellation given to people in the loweſt claſs of life. Vaſt numbers engaged in this wild undertaking; but Muncer, their leader and their prophet, was deſtitute of the abilities neceſſary for conducting it. He had all the extravagance, but not the courage, which enthuſiaſts uſually poſſeſs. It was with difficulty he could be perſuaded to take the field; and though he ſoon drew together eight thouſand men, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by a body of cavalry under the command of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and Duke of Brunſwick. Theſe Princes, unwilling to ſhed the blood of their deluded ſubjects, ſent a young nobleman to their camp, with the offer of a general pardon, if they would immediately lay down their arms, and deliver up the authors of the ſedition. Muncer, alarmed at this, began to harangue his followers with his uſual vehemence, exhorting them not to truſt theſe deceitful promiſes of their oppreſſors, nor to deſert the cauſe of God, and of Chriſtian liberty.

Peaſants defeated.

But the ſenſe of preſent danger making a deeper impreſſion on the peaſants than his eloquence, confuſion and terror were viſible in every face, when a rainbow, which was the emblem that the mutineers had painted on their colours, happening to appear in the clouds, Muncer, with admirable preſence of mind, laid hold of that incident, and ſuddenly raiſing his eyes

eyes and hands towards heaven, "Behold," cried he, with an elevated voice, "the ſign "which God has given. There is the pledge "of your ſafety, and a token that the wicked "ſhall be deſtroyed." The fanatical multitude ſet up inſtantly a great ſhout, as if victory had been certain; and paſſing in a moment from one extreme to another, maſſacred the unfortunate nobleman who had come with the offer of pardon, and demanded to be led towards the enemy. The Princes, enraged at this ſhocking violation of the laws of war, advanced with no leſs impetuoſity, and began the attack; but the behaviour of the peaſants in the combat was not ſuch as might have been expected either from their ferocity or confidence of ſucceſs; an undiſciplined rabble was no equal match for well-trained troops; above five thouſand were ſlain in the field, almoſt without making reſiſtance; the reſt fled, and among the foremoſt Muncer their general. He was taken next day; and being condemned to ſuch puniſhments as his crimes had deſerved, he ſuffered them with a poor and daſtardly ſpirit. His death put an end to the inſurrections of the peaſants which had filled Germany with ſuch terror [t]; but the enthuſiaſtick notions which he had ſcattered were not extirpated, and produced, not long after, effects more memorable, as well as more extravagant.

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During theſe commotions, Luther acted with exemplary prudence and moderation; like a common parent, ſolicitous about the welfare of both parties, without ſparing the faults or errors of either. On the one hand, he addreſſed a monitory diſcourſe to the nobles, exhorting them

Luther's moderate and prudent conduct.

[t] Sleid. Hiſt. p. 84. Seckend. lib. ii. p. 12. Gnodalius Tumult. Ruſtican. 155.

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them to treat their dependants with greater humanity and indulgence. On the other, he ſeverely cenſured the ſeditious ſpirit of the peaſants, adviſing them not to murmur at hardſhips inſeparable from their condition, nor to ſeek for redreſs by any but legal means [u].

His marriage.

LUTHER's famous marriage with Catharine a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who, having thrown off the veil, had fled from the cloiſter, happened this year, and was far from meeting with the ſame approbation. Even his moſt devoted followers thought this ſtep indecent, at a time when his country was involved in ſo many calamities; while his enemies never mentioned it with any ſofter appellation than that of inceſtuous or profane. Luther himſelf was ſenſible of the impreſſion which it had made to his diſadvantage; but being ſatisfied with his own conduct, he bore the cenſure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adverſaries, with his uſual fortitude [x].

THIS year the Reformation loſt its firſt protector, Frederick, Elector of Saxony; but the blow was the leſs ſenſibly felt, as he was ſucMay 5. ceeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though leſs able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

Pruſſia wreſted from the Teutonick order.

ANOTHER event happened about the ſame time, which, as it occaſioned a conſiderable change in the ſtate of Germany, muſt be traced back to its ſource. While the frenzy of the Cruſades poſſeſſed all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, ſeveral orders of religious knighthood were founded in defence of the

[u] Sleid. Hiſt. p. 87 [x] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 15.

the Chriſtian faith againſt Heathens and Infidels. Among theſe the Teutonick order in Germany was one of the moſt illuſtrious, the knights of which diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly in all the wild enterprizes carried on in the Holy Land. Being driven at laſt from their ſettlements in the eaſt, they were obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal and valour were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, on very ſlight pretences, the province of Pruſſia, the inhabitants of which were ſtill idolaters; and having compleated the conqueſt of it about the middle of the thirteenth century, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce conteſts aroſe, during this period, between the Grand Maſters of the order, and the Kings of Poland; the former ſtruggling for independence, while the latter aſſerted their right of ſovereignty with great firmneſs. Albert, a Prince of the houſe of Brandenburgh, who was elected Grand Maſter in the year one thouſand five hundred and eleven, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigiſmund, King of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually leſſened his zeal for the intereſts of his fraternity; ſo that he took the opportunity of the confuſions in the Empire, and the abſence of the Emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigiſmund, greatly to his private emolument. By it, that part of Pruſſia which belonged to the Teutonick order was erected into a ſecular and hereditary dutchy, and the inveſtiture of it granted to Albert, who, in return, bound himſelf to do homage for it to the Kings of Poland as their vaſſal. Immediately after this, he made public profeſſion of the reformed religion, and married

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married a princeſs of Denmark. The Teutonick knights exclaimed ſo loudly againſt the treachery of their grand maſter, that he was put under the ban of the Empire; but he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the province which he had uſurped, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity. In proceſs of time this rich inheritance fell to the electoral branch of the family, all dependence on the crown of Poland was ſhaken off, and the Margraves of Brandenburgh, having aſſumed the title of Kings of Pruſſia, have not only riſen to an equality with the firſt Princes in Germany, but take their rank among the great Monarchs of Europe [y].

First meaſures of the French King upon his return to France.

Upon the return of the French King to his dominions, the eyes of all the powers in Europe were fixed upon him, that, by obſerving his firſt motions, they might form a judgment concerning his ſubſequent conduct. They were not held long in ſuſpence. Francis, as ſoon as he arrived at Bayonne, wrote to the King of England, thanking him for his zealous and affectionate interpoſition in his favour, to which he acknowledged that he owed the recovery of his liberty. Next day the Emperor's ambaſſadors demanded audience, and, in their maſter's name, required him to iſſue ſuch orders as were neceſſary for carrying the treaty of Madrid into immediate and full execution. He coldly anſwered, that though for his own part he determined religiouſly to perform all that he had promiſed, the treaty contained ſo many articles relative not to himſelf alone, but affecting the intereſts of the French monarchy, that he could not

[y] Sleid. Hiſt. p. 98. Pfeffel Abregè de l'hiſt. de Droit Publ. p. 605, &c.

not take any farther ſtep without conſulting the States of his kingdom; and that ſome time would be neceſſary in order to reconcile their minds to the hard conditions which he had conſented to ratify [z]. This reply was conſidered as no obſcure diſcovery of his being reſolved to elude the treaty; and the compliment paid to Henry, appeared a very proper ſtep towards ſecuring the aſſiſtance of that Monarch in the war with the Emperor, to which ſuch a reſolution would certainly give riſe. Theſe circumſtances, added to the explicit declarations which Francis made in ſecret to the ambaſſadors from ſeveral of the Italian powers, fully ſatisfied them that their conjectures with regard to his conduct had been juſt, and that inſtead of intending to execute an unreaſonable treaty, he was eager to ſeize the firſt opportunity of revenging thoſe injuries which had compelled him to feign an approbation of it. Even the doubts, and fears, and ſcruples, which uſed, on other occaſions, to hold Clement in a ſtate of uncertainty, were diſſipated by Francis's ſeeming impatience to break through all his engagements with the Emperor. The ſituation, indeed, of affairs in Italy at that time, did not allow the Pope to heſitate long. Sforza was ſtill beſieged by the Imperialiſts in the caſtle of Milan. That feeble Prince, deprived now of Moronè's advice, and unprovided with every thing neceſſary for defence, found means to inform Clement and the Venetians, that he muſt ſoon ſurrender, if they did not come to his relief. The Imperial troops, as they had received no pay ſince the battle of Pavia, lived at diſcretion in the Milaneſe, levying ſuch exorbitant contributions in that

[z] Mem. de Bellay, p. 97.

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that dutchy, as amounted, if we may rely on Guicciardini's calculation, to no leſs a ſum than five thouſand ducats a day [a]; nor was it to be doubted, but that the ſoldiers, as ſoon as the caſtle ſhould ſubmit, would chuſe to leave a ruined country which hardly afforded them ſubſiſtence, that they might take poſſeſſion of more comfortable quarters in the fertile and untouched territories of the Pope and Venetians. The aſſiſtance of the French King was the only thing which could either ſave Sforza, or enable them to protect their own dominions from the inſults of the Imperial troops.

A league formed againſt the Emperor.

For theſe reaſons, the Pope, the Venetians, and duke of Milan, were equally impatient to come to an agreement with Francis, who, on his part, was no leſs deſirous of acquiring ſuch a conſiderable acceſſion, both of ſtrength and reputation, as ſuch a confederacy would bring along with it. The chief objects of this alliance, which was concluded at Cognac on the twenty-ſecond of May, though kept ſecret for ſome time, were, to oblige the Emperor to ſet at liberty the French King's ſons, upon payment of a reaſonable ranſom; and to re-eſtabliſh Sforza in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. If Charles ſhould refuſe either of theſe, the contracting parties bound themſelves to bring into the field an army of thirty-five thouſand men, with which, after driving the Spaniards out of the Milaneſe, they would attack the kingdom of Naples. The King of England was declared protector of this league, which they dignified with the name of *Holy*, becauſe the Pope was at the head of it; and in order to allure Henry more effectually, a principality in

[a] Guic. l. xvii. 360.

in the kingdom of Naples, of thirty thouſand ducats yearly revenue, was to be ſettled on him; and lands to the value of ten thouſand ducats on Wolſey his favourite [b]. Book IV. 1526.

No ſooner was this league concluded, than Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, abſolved Francis from the oath which he had taken to obſerve the treaty of Madrid [c]. This right, how pernicious ſoever in its effects, and deſtructive of that integrity which is the baſis of all tranſactions among men, was the natural conſequence of the powers which the Popes arrogated, as the infallible vicegerents of Chriſt upon earth. But as, in virtue of this pretended prerogative, they had often diſpenſed with obligations which were held ſacred, the intereſt of ſome men, and the credulity of others, led them to imagine, that the deciſions of a ſovereign pontiff authorized or juſtified actions which would, otherwiſe, have been criminal and impious. The Pope abſolves Francis from his oath to obſerve the treaty of Madrid.

Meanwhile the diſcovery of Francis's intention to elude the treaty of Madrid, filled the Emperor with a variety of diſquieting thoughts. He had treated an unfortunate Prince with the moſt ungenerous rigour; he had diſplayed an inſatiable ambition in all his negociations with his priſoner: He knew what cenſures the former had drawn upon him, and what apprehenſions the latter had excited in every court of Europe; nor had he reaped, from the meaſures which he purſued, any of thoſe advantages which politicians are apt to conſider as an excuſe for the The Emperor alarmed.

[b] Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 217. Recueil des Trait. ii. 124. [c] Goldaſt. Polit. Imperial. p. 1002. Pallav. Hiſt. p. 70.

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moſt criminal conduct, and a compenſation for the ſevereſt reproaches. Francis was now out of his hands; and not one of all the mighty conſequences which he had expected from the treaty that ſet him at liberty, was likely to take place. His raſhneſs in relying ſo far on his own judgment as to truſt to the ſincerity of the French King, in oppoſition to the ſentiments of his wiſeſt miniſters, was now apparent; and he eaſily conjectured, that the ſame confederacy, the dread of which had induced him to ſet Francis at liberty, would now be formed againſt him, with that gallant and incenſed Monarch at its head. Self-condemnation and ſhame, on account of what was paſt, with anxious apprehenſions concerning what might happen, were the neceſſary reſult of theſe reflections on his own conduct and ſituation. Charles, however, was naturally firm and inflexible in all his meaſures. To have receded ſuddenly from any article in the treaty of Madrid, would have been a plain confeſſion of imprudence, and a palpable ſymptom of fear; he determined, therefore, that it was moſt ſuitable to his dignity, to inſiſt, whatever might be the conſequences, on the ſtrict execution of the treaty, and particularly not to accept of any thing which might be offered as an equivalent for the reſtitution of Burgundy [d].

Requires Francis to perform what he had ſtipulated.

In conſequence of this reſolution, he appointed Lannoy and Alarcon to repair, as his ambaſſadors, to the court of France, and formally to ſummon the King either to execute the treaty with the ſincerity that became him, or to return, according to his oath, a priſoner to Madrid. Inſtead of giving them an immediate anſwer,

[d] Guic. l. xvii. 366.

anſwer, Francis admitted the deputies of the ſtates of Burgundy to an audience in their preſence. They humbly repreſented to him, that he had exceeded the powers veſted in a King of France, when he conſented to alienate their country from the crown, the domains of which he was bound by his coronation-oath to preſerve entire and unimpaired. Francis, in return, thanked them for their attachment to his crown, and intreated them, though very faintly, to remember the obligations which he lay under to fulfil his engagements with the Emperor. The deputies aſſuming an higher tone, declared that they would not obey commands which they conſidered as illegal; and if he ſhould abandon them to the enemies of France, they had reſolved to defend themſelves to the beſt of their power, with a firm purpoſe rather to periſh than ſubmit to a foreign dominion. Upon which, Francis turning towards the Imperial ambaſſadors, repreſented to them the impoſſibility of performing what he had undertaken, and offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns. The Viceroy and Alarcon, who eaſily perceived that the ſcene to which they had been witneſſes, was concerted between the King and his ſubjects, in order to impoſe upon them, ſignified to him their maſter's fixed reſolution not to depart, in the ſmalleſt point, from the terms of the treaty, and withdrew [e]. Before they left the kingdom, they had the mortification to hear the holy league againſt the Emperor publiſhed with great ſolemnity.

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His anſwer.

June 11.

CHARLES no ſooner received an account of this confederacy, than he exclaimed, in the moſt publick

The Emperor's preparations for war.

[e] Belcar. Comment. de Reb. Gal. 573. Mem. de Bellay, 97.

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publick manner, and in the harſheſt terms, againſt Francis, as a Prince void of faith, and of honour. He complained no leſs of Clement, whom he ſolicited in vain to abandon his new allies; he accuſed him of ingratitude; he taxed him with an ambition unbecoming his character; he threatened him not only with all the vengeance which the power of an Emperor can inflict, but, by appealing to a general council, called up before him all the terrors ariſing from the authority of thoſe aſſembles ſo formidable to the papal ſee. It was neceſſary, however, to oppoſe ſomething elſe than reproaches and threats to the powerful combination formed againſt him; and the Emperor, prompted by ſo many paſſions, did not fail to exert himſelf with unuſual vigour, in order to ſend ſupplies not only of men, but of money, which was ſtill more needed, into Italy.

Feeble operations of the confederates.

On the other hand, the efforts of the confederates bore no proportion to that animoſity againſt the Emperor with which they ſeemed to enter into the holy league. Francis, it was thought, would have infuſed ſpirit and vigour into the whole body. He had his loſt honour to repair, many injuries to revenge, and the ſtation among the Princes of Europe from which he had fallen to recover. From all theſe powerful incitements, added to the natural impetuoſity of his temper, a war more fierce and bloody than any that he had hitherto made upon his rival, was expected. But Francis had gone through ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs; and the impreſſion it had made was ſtill ſo freſh in his memory, that he was become diffident of himſelf, diſtruſtful of fortune, and deſirous of tranquillity. To procure the releaſe of his ſons, and to avoid the reſtitution of Burgundy,

gundy, by paying ſome reaſonable equivalent, were his chief objects; and for the ſake of theſe, he would willingly have ſacrificed Sforza and the liberties of Italy to the Emperor. He flattered himſelf that the dread of the confederacy which he had formed would of itſelf induce Charles to liſten to what was equitable; and was afraid of employing any conſiderable force for the relief of the Milaneſe, leſt his allies, whom he had often found to be more attentive to their own intereſt, than punctual in fulfilling their engagements, ſhould abandon him as ſoon as the Imperialiſts were driven out of that country, and deprive his negociations with the Emperor of that weight which they derived from his being at the head of a powerful league. In the mean time the caſtle of Milan was preſſed more cloſely than ever, and Sforza was now reduced to the laſt extremity. The Pope and Venetians, truſting to Francis's concurrence, commanded their troops to take the field, in order to relieve him; and an army, more than ſufficient for that ſervice, was ſoon formed. The Milaneſe, paſſionately attached to their unfortunate duke, and no leſs exaſperated againſt the Imperialiſts, who had oppreſſed them ſo cruelly, were ready to aid the confederates in all their enterprizes. But the duke d'Urbino, their general, naturally ſlow and indeciſive, and reſtrained, beſides, by his ancient enmity to the family of Medici, from taking any ſtep that might aggrandize or add reputation to the Pope [f], loſt ſome opportunities; and refuſed to improve others, of attacking the Imperialiſts, and raiſing the ſiege. Theſe delays gave Bourbon time to bring up a reinforcement of freſh troops, and a ſupply of money. He immediately took the command of the

July 24.

[f] Guic. l. xvii. 382.

Book IV. 1526. the army, and puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, as quickly obliged Sforza to ſurrender, who retiring to Lodi, which the confederates had ſurprized, left Bourbon in full poſſeſſion of the reſt of the dutchy, the inveſtiture of which the Emperor had promiſed to grant him [g].

Diſquietude of the Italian powers.

THE Italians began now to perceive the game which Francis had played, and to be ſenſible that, notwithſtanding all their addreſs, and refinements in negociation, which they boaſted of as talents peculiarly their own, they had for once been over-reached in thoſe very arts by a *tramontane* Prince. He had hitherto thrown almoſt the whole burden of the war upon them, taking advantage of their efforts, in order to enforce the propoſals which he often renewed at the court of Madrid for obtaining the liberty of his ſons. The Pope and Venetians expoſtulated and complained [h]; but as they were not able to rouze Francis from his inactivity, their own zeal and vigour gradually abated; and Clement, having already gone farther than his timidity uſually permitted him, began to accuſe himſelf of raſhneſs, and to relapſe into his natural ſtate of doubt and uncertainty.

Meaſures of the Imperialiſts.

ALL the Emperor's motions depending on himſelf alone, were more briſk and better concerted. The narrowneſs of his revenues, indeed, did not allow him to make any ſudden or great effort in the field; but he abundantly ſupplied that defect by his intrigues and negociations. The family of Colonna, the moſt powerful of all the Roman barons, had adhered uniformly to the Ghibeline or Imperial faction, during

[g] Guic. l. xvii. l. 376, &c. [h] Ruſcelli Lettere de Principi, ii. 157, &c. 159, 160—166.

ing thoſe fierce contentions between the Popes and Emperors, which, for ſeveral ages, filled Italy and Germany with diſcord and bloodſhed. Though the cauſes which at firſt gave birth to theſe deſtructive factions exiſted no longer, and the rage with which they had been animated was in a great meaſure ſpent, the Colonnas ſtill retained their attachment to the Imperial intereſt, and, by placing themſelves under the protection of the Emperors, ſecured the quiet poſſeſſion of their own territories and privileges. The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of a turbulent and ambitious temper, at that time the head of the family, had long been Clement's rival, to whoſe influence in the laſt conclave he imputed the diſappointment of all his ſchemes for attaining the papal dignity, of which, from his known connection with the Emperor, he thought himſelf ſecure. This was too great an injury to an aſpiring mind ever to be forgiven; and though he had diſſembled his reſentment ſo far as to vote for Clement at his election, and to accept of great offices in his court, he waited with the utmoſt impatience for an opportunity of being revenged. Don Hugo di Moncada, the Imperial ambaſſador at Rome, who was no ſtranger to theſe ſentiments, eaſily perſuaded him, that now was the time, while all the papal troops were employed in Lombardy, to attempt ſomething which would at once avenge his own wrongs, and be of eſſential ſervice to the Emperor his patron. The Pope, however, whoſe timidity rendered him quick-ſighted, was ſo attentive to their operations, and began to be alarmed ſo early, that he might have drawn together troops ſufficient to have diſconcerted all Colonna's meaſures. But Moncada amuſed him ſo artfully with negociations, promiſes, and falſe intelligence,

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intelligence, that he lulled aſleep all his ſuſpicions, and prevented his taking any of the precautions neceſſary for his ſafety; and to the eternal diſgrace of a prince poſſeſſed of great power, as well as renowned for political wiſdom, Colonna, at the head of three thouſand men, ſeized one of the gates of his capital, while he, imagining himſelf to be in perfect ſecurity, was altogether unprepared for reſiſting ſuch a feeble enemy. The inhabitants of Rome permitted Colonna's troops, from whom they apprehended no injury, to advance without oppoſition: the Pope's guards were diſperſed in a moment; and Clement himſelf, terrified at the danger, aſhamed of his own credulity, and deſerted by almoſt every perſon, fled with precipitation into the caſtle of St. Angelo, which was immediately inveſted. The palace of the Vatican, the church of St. Peter, and the houſes of the Pope's miniſters and ſervants, were plundered in the moſt licentious manner; the reſt of the city was left unmoleſted. Clement, deſtitute of every thing neceſſary either for ſubſiſtance or defence, was ſoon obliged to demand a capitulation; and Moncada, being admitted into the caſtle, preſcribed to him, with all the haughtineſs of a conqueror, conditions which it was not in his power to reject. The chief of theſe was, That Clement ſhould not only grant a full pardon to the Colonnas, but receive them into favour, and immediately withdraw all the troops in his pay from the army of the confederates in Lombardy [i].

Sept 29. The Colonnas become maſters of Rome.

Accommodation between the Pope and Emperor.

The Colonnas, who talked of nothing leſs than of depoſing Clement, and of placing Pompeo,

i Jovii Vita Pomp. Colon. Guic. l. xvii. 407. Ruſcelli Lettere de Principi, i. p. 104.

peo, their kinſman, in the vacant chair of St. Peter, exclaimed loudly againſt a treaty which left them at the mercy of a Pontiff juſtly incenſed againſt them. But Moncada, attentive only to his maſter's intereſt, paid little regard to their complaints, and, by this fortunate meaſure, broke entirely the power of the confederates.

The Imperial army reinforced.

While the army of the confederates ſuffered ſuch a conſiderable diminution, the Imperialiſts received two great reinforcements; one from Spain, under the command of Lannoy and Alarcon, which amounted to ſix thouſand men; the other was raiſed in the Empire by George Frondſperg, a German nobleman, who having ſerved in Italy with great reputation, had acquired ſuch influence and popularity, that multitudes of his countrymen, fond on every occaſion of engaging in military enterprizes, and impatient at that juncture to eſcape from the oppreſſion of their ſuperiors in religious as well as civil matters, crowded to his ſtandard; ſo that without any other gratuity than the payment of a crown to each man, fourteen thouſand enliſted in his ſervice. To theſe the Archduke Ferdinand added two thouſand horſe, levied in the Auſtrian dominions. But although the Emperor had raiſed troops, he could not remit the ſums neceſſary for their ſupport. His ordinary revenues were exhauſted; the credit of princes, during the infancy of commerce, was not extenſive; and the Cortes of Caſtile, though every art had been tried to gain them, and ſome innovations had been made in the conſtitution, in order to ſecure their concurrence, peremptorily refuſed to grant Charles any extraordinary

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nary supply [k]; so that the more his army increased in number, the more were his generals embarrassed and distressed. Bourbon, in particular, was involved in such difficulties, that he stood in need of all his address and courage in order to extricate himself. Vast sums were due to the Spanish troops already in the Milanese, when Frondsperg arrived with sixteen thousand hungry Germans, destitute of every thing. Both made their demands with equal fierceness; the former claiming their arrears, and the latter, the pay which had been promised them on their entering Lombardy. Bourbon was altogether incapable of giving satisfaction to either. In this situation he was constrained to commit acts of violence extremely shocking to his own nature, which was generous and humane. He seized the principal citizens of Milan, and by threats, and even by torture, forced from them a considerable sum: he rifled the churches of all their plate and ornaments. The inadequate supply which these afforded, he distributed among the soldiers, with so many soothing expressions of his sympathy and affection, that though it fell far short of the sums due to them, it appeased their present murmurs [l].

The Emperor's finances deficient.

Among other expedients for raising money, Bourbon granted his life and liberty to Moronè, who having been kept in prison since his intrigue with Pescara, had been condemned to die by the Spanish judges empowered to try him. For this remission he paid twenty thousand ducats; and such were his singular talents, and the wonderful ascendant which he always acquired over the minds of those to whom he had access, that

Bourbon sets Moronè at liberty.

[k] Sandov. i. 814.

[l] Ripamond. Hist. Mediol. lib. ix. p. 717.

that in a few days, from being Bourbon's priſoner, he became his prime confident, with whom he conſulted in all affairs of importance. To his inſinuations muſt be imputed the ſuſpicions which Bourbon began to entertain, that the Emperor had never intended to grant him the inveſtiture of Milan, but had appointed Leyva, and the other Spaniſh generals, rather to be ſpies on his conduct, than to co-operate heartily towards the execution of his ſchemes. To him likewiſe, as he ſtill retained, at the age of fourſcore, all the enterprizing ſpirit of youth, may be attributed the bold and unexpected meaſure on which Bourbon ſoon after ventured [m].

His deliberations with reſpect to his motions.

Such, indeed, were the exigencies of the Imperial troops in the Milaneſe, that it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to take ſome immediate ſtep for their relief. The arrears of the ſoldiers increaſed daily; the Emperor made no remittances to his generals; and the utmoſt rigour of military extortion could draw nothing more from a country entirely drained and ruined. In this ſituation there was no choice left, but either to diſband the army, or to march for ſubſiſtence into the enemy's country. The territories of the Venetians lay neareſt at hand; but they, with their uſual foreſight and prudence, had taken ſuch precautions as ſecured them from any inſult. Nothing, therefore, remained but to invade the dominions of the church, or of the Florentines; and Clement had of late acted ſuch a part, as merited the ſevereſt vengeance from the Emperor. No ſooner did his troops return to Rome after the inſurrection of the Colonnas, than, without paying any regard to the treaty with Moncada, he degraded the Cardinal Colonna,

[m] Guic. l. xvii. 419.

Book IV. 1526. lonna, excommunicated the reſt of the family, ſeized their places of ſtrength, and waſted their land with all the cruelty which the ſmart of a recent injury naturally excites. After this, he turned his arms againſt Naples; and as his operations were ſeconded by the French fleet, he made ſome progreſs towards the conqueſt of that kingdom; the Viceroy being no leſs deſtitute than the other Imperial generals of the money requiſite for a vigorous defence [n].

1527. Marches to invade the Pope's territories. These proceedings of the Pope juſtified, in appearance, the meaſures which Bourbon's ſituation rendered neceſſary; and he ſet about executing them under ſuch diſadvantages, as furniſh the ſtrongeſt proof both of the deſpair to which he was reduced, and of the greatneſs of his abilities, which were able to ſurmount ſo many obſtacles. Having committed the government of Milan to Leyva, whom he was not unwilling to leave behind, he began his march in the depth
January 3e. of winter, at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, compoſed of nations differing from each other in language and manners; without money, without magazines, without artillery, without carriages; in ſhort, without any of thoſe things which are neceſſary to the ſmalleſt party, and which ſeem eſſential to the exiſtence and motions of a great army. His rout lay through a country cut by rivers and mountains, in which the roads were almoſt impracticable; as an addition to his difficulties, the enemy's army, ſuperior to his own in number, was at hand to watch all his motions, and to improve every advantage. But his troops, impatient of their preſent hardſhips, and allured by the hopes of immenſe

[n] Jovii Vita Pomp. Colon. Guic. l. xviii. 424.

immenſe booty, without conſidering how ill provided they were for a march, followed him with great cheerfulneſs. His firſt ſcheme was to have made himſelf maſter of Placentia, and to have gratified his ſoldiers with the plunder of that city; but the vigilance of the confederate generals rendered the deſign abortive; nor had he better ſucceſs in his project for the reduction of Bologna, which was ſeaſonably ſupplied with as many troops as ſecured it from the inſults of an army which had neither artillery nor ammunition. Having failed in both theſe attempts to become maſter of ſome great city, he was under a neceſſity of advancing. But he had now been two months in the field; his troops had ſuffered every calamity that a long march, together with the uncommon rigour of the ſeaſon, could bring upon men deſtitute of all neceſſary accommodations in an enemy's country; the magnificent promiſes to which they truſted, had proved altogether vain; they ſaw no proſpect of relief; their patience, tried to the utmoſt, failed at laſt, and they broke out into open mutiny. Some officers, who raſhly attempted to reſtrain them, fell victims to their fury; Bourbon himſelf, not daring to appear during the firſt tranſports of their rage, was obliged to fly ſecretly from his quarters [o]. But this ſudden ebullition of wrath began at laſt to ſubſide; when Bourbon, who poſſeſſed in a wonderful degree the art of governing the minds of ſoldiers, renewed his promiſes with more confidence than formerly, and aſſured them, that they would be ſoon accompliſhed. He endeavoured to render their hardſhips more tolerable, by partaking of them himſelf; he fared no better than the meaneſt centinel; he marched

Mutiny of his troops.

[o] Guic. l. xviii. 434. Jovii Vit. Colon. 163.

Book IV. 1527. marched along with them on foot; he joined them in ſinging their camp-ballads, in which, with high praiſes of his valour, they mingled many ſtrokes of military raillery on his poverty; and wherever they came, he allowed them, as a foretaſte of what he had promiſed, to plunder the adjacent villages at diſcretion. Encouraged by all theſe ſoothing arts, they entirely forgot their ſufferings and complaints, and followed him with the ſame implicit confidence as formerly [p].

The Pope's irreſolution and imprudence.

Bourbon, meanwhile, carefully concealed his intentions. Rome and Florence, not knowing on which the blow would fall, were held in the moſt diſquieting ſtate of ſuſpence. Clement, equally ſolicitous for the ſafety of both, fluctuated in more than his uſual uncertainty; and while the rapid approach of danger called for prompt and deciſive meaſures, he ſpent the time in deliberations which came to no iſſue, or in taking reſolutions, which, next day, his reſtleſs mind, more ſagacious in diſcerning than in obviating difficulties, overturned, without being able to fix on what ſhould be ſubſtituted in their place. At one time he determined to unite himſelf more cloſely than ever with his allies, and to puſh on the war with vigour; at another, he inclined to bring all differences to a final accommodation by a treaty with Lannoy, who knowing his paſſion for negociation, ſolicited him inceſſantly with propoſals for that purpoſe. His timidity at length prevailed, and led him to conclude an agreement with Lannoy, of which the following were the chief articles: That a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould take place between the Pontifical and Imperial troops for

March 15. Concludes a treaty with the Viceroy of Naples.

[p] Oeuvres de Brant. vol. iv. p. 246, &c.

for eight months; That Clement ſhould advance ſixty thouſand crowns towards ſatisfying the demands of the Imperial army; That the Colonnas ſhould be abſolved from cenſure, and their former dignities and poſſeſſions be reſtored to them; That the viceroy ſhould come to Rome, and prevent Bourbon from approaching nearer to that city, or to Florence [q]. On this haſty treaty, which deprived him of all hopes of aſſiſtance from his allies, without affording him any ſolid foundation of ſecurity, Clement relied ſo firmly, that, like a man extricated at once out of all difficulties, he was at perfect eaſe, and in the fulneſs of his confidence diſbanded all his troops, except as many as were ſufficient to guard his own perſon. This amazing confidence of Clement's, who on every other occaſion was fearful and ſuſpicious to exceſs, appeared ſo unaccountable to Guicciardini, who being at that time the pontifical commiſſary-general and reſident in the confederate army, had great opportunity as well as great abilities for obſerving how chimerical all his hopes were, that he imputes the Pope's conduct, at this juncture, wholly to infatuation, which thoſe who are doomed to ruin cannot avoid [r].

which Bourbon diſregards.

Lannoy, it would ſeem, intended to have executed the treaty with great ſincerity; and having detached Clement from the confederacy, wiſhed to turn Bourbon's arms againſt the Venetians, who, of all the powers at war with the Emperor, had exerted the greateſt vigour. With this view he diſpatched a courier to Bourbon, informing him of the ſuſpenſion of arms, which, in the name of their common maſter, he had concluded with the Pope. Bourbon had other

[q] Guic. l. xviii 436. [r] Guic. lib. xviii. 446.

Book IV. other ſchemes; and he had proſecuted them now too far to think of retreating. To have mentioned a retreat to his ſoldiers, would have been dangerous; his command was independent on Lannoy; he was fond of mortifying a man whom he had many reaſons to hate: for theſe reaſons, without paying the leaſt regard to the meſſage, he continued to ravage the eccleſiaſtical territories, and to advance towards Florence. Upon this, all Clement's terror and anxiety returning with new force, he had recourſe to Lannoy, and intreated and conjured him to put a ſtop to Bourbon's progreſs. Lannoy accordingly ſet out for his camp, but durſt not approach it; Bourbon's ſoldiers having got notice of the truce, raged and threatened, demanding the accompliſhment of the promiſes to which they had truſted; their general himſelf could hardly reſtrain them; every perſon in Rome perceived that nothing remained but to prepare for reſiſting a ſtorm which it was now impoſſible to diſpel. Clement alone, relying on ſome ambiguous and deceitful profeſſions which Bourbon made of his inclination towards peace, ſunk back into his former ſecurity [s].

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Advances towards Rome.

Bourbon, on his part, was far from being free from ſolicitude. All his attempts on any place of importance had hitherto miſcarried; and Florence, towards which he had been approaching for ſome time, was, by the arrival of the duke d'Urbino's army, put in a condition to ſet his power at defiance. As it now became neceſſary to change his rout, and to take inſtantly ſome new reſolution, he fixed without heſitation on one no leſs daring in itſelf, than it was impious according to the opinion of that age.

[s] Guic. l. xviii. 437, &c. Mem. de Bellay. p. 100.

age. This was to aſſault and plunder Rome. Many reaſons, however, prompted him to it. He was fond of thwarting Lannoy, who had undertaken for the ſafety of that city; he imagined that the Emperor would be highly pleaſed to ſee Clement, the chief author of the league againſt him, humbled; he flattered himſelf, that by gratifying the rapacity of his ſoldiers with ſuch immenſe booty, he would attach them for ever to his intereſt; or (which is ſtill more probable than any of theſe) he hoped that by means of the power and fame, which he would acquire from the conqueſt of the firſt city in Chriſtendom, that he might lay the foundation of an independent power; and that after ſhaking off all connection with the Emperor, he might take poſſeſſion of Naples, or of ſome of the Italian ſtates in his own name [t].

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WHATEVER his motives were, he executed his reſolution with a rapidity equal to the boldneſs with which he had formed it. His ſoldiers, now that they had their prey in full view, complained neither of fatigue, nor famine, nor want of pay. No ſooner did they begin to move from Tuſcany towards Rome, than the Pope, ſenſible at laſt how fallacious the hopes had been on which he repoſed, ſtarted from his ſecurity. But no time now remained, even for a bold and deciſive Pontiff, to have taken proper meaſures, or to have formed any effectual plan of defence. Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was conſternation, diſorder, and irreſolution. He collected, however, ſuch of his diſbanded ſoldiers as ſtill remained in the city; he armed the artificers of Rome, and the footmen and train-bearers of the Cardinals;

The Pope's preparations for defence.

[t] Brant. iv. 271. vi. 189. Belcarii Comment. 594.

Book IV. 1527. he repaired the breaches in the walls; he begun to erect new works; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors [u]. Truſting to theſe ineffectual military preparations, or to his ſpiritual arms, which were ſtill more deſpiſed by rapacious ſoldiers, he ſeems to have laid aſide his natural timidity, and, contrary to the advice of all his counſellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy whom he might eaſily have avoided, by a timely retreat.

Aſſault of Rome.

BOURBON, who ſaw the neceſſity of diſpatch, now that his intentions were known, advanced with ſuch ſpeed, that he gained ſeveral marches on the duke d'Urbino's army, and encamped in the plains of Rome on the evening of the fifth of May. From thence he ſhewed his ſoldiers the palaces and churches of that city, into which, as the capital of the Chriſtian commonwealth, the riches of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hoſtile hand; and commanding them to refreſh themſelves that night, as a preparation for the aſſault next day, promiſed them, in reward of their toils and valour, the poſſeſſion of all the treaſures accumulated there.

EARLY in the morning, Bourbon, who had determined to diſtinguiſh that day either by his death or the ſucceſs of his enterprize, appeared at the head of his troops, clad in complete armour, above which he wore a veſt of white tiſſue, that he might be more conſpicuous both to

[u] Seckend. lib. ii. 68.

to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impreſſion, he led them inſtantly to ſcale the walls. Three diſtinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the laſt of Italians, the three different nations of whom the army was compoſed, were appointed to this ſervice; a ſeparate attack was aſſigned to each; and the whole army advanced to ſupport them as occaſion ſhould require. A thick miſt concealed their approach until they reached almoſt the brink of the ditch which ſurrounded the ſuburbs: having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade ruſhed on to the aſſault with an impetuoſity heightened by national emulation. They were received at firſt with fortitude equal to their own; the Swiſs in the Pope's guards, and the veteran ſoldiers who had been aſſembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the nobleſt city in the world was entruſted. Bourbon's troops, notwithſtanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to give way; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, threw himſelf from his horſe, preſſed to the front, ſnatched a ſcaling ladder from a ſoldier, planted it againſt the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men, with his voice and hand, to follow him. But at that very inſtant, a muſket bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound, which he immediately felt to be mortal; but he retained ſo much preſence of mind as to deſire thoſe who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not diſhearten his troops; and ſoon after he expired with a courage worthy of a better cauſe, and which would have entitled him to the higheſt praiſe, if he had thus

Bourbon ſlain.

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fallen in defence of his country, not at the head of its enemies [x].

The city taken.

THIS fatal event could not be concealed from the army; the ſoldiers ſoon miſſed their general, whom they were accuſtomed to ſee in every time of danger; but inſtead of being diſheartened by their loſs, it animated them with new valour; the name of Bourbon reſounded along the line accompanied with the cry of *blood* and *revenge*. The veterans who defended the walls, were ſoon overpowered by numbers; the untrained body of city recruits fled at the ſight of danger, and the enemy, with irreſiſtible violence, ruſhed into the town.

DURING the combat, Clement was employed at the altar of St. Peter's in offering up to Heaven unavailing prayers for victory. No ſooner was he informed that his troops began to give way, than he fled with precipitation; and with an infatuation ſtill more amazing than any thing already mentioned, inſtead of making his eſcape by the oppoſite gate where there was no enemy to oppoſe it, he ſhut himſelf up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambaſſadors, and many perſons of diſtinction, in the caſtle of St. Angelo, which, from his late misfortune, he might have known to be an inſecure retreat. In his way from the Vatican to that fortreſs, he ſaw his troops flying before an enemy who purſued without giving quarter; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of thoſe calamities which his

[x] Mem. de Bellay, 101. Guic. l. xviii. p. 445, &c. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 257, &c.

his own credulity and ill-conduct had brought upon his ſubjects [y]. Book IV. 1527.

Plundered.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe, or even to imagine, the miſery and horror of that ſcene which followed. Whatever a city taken by ſtorm can dread from military rage unreſtrained by diſcipline; whatever exceſſes the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiouſneſs of the Italians could commit, theſe the wretched inhabitants were obliged to ſuffer. Churches, palaces, and the houſes of private perſons, were plundered without diſtinction. No age, or character, or ſex, was exempt from Injury. Cardinals, nobles, prieſts, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of ſoldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did theſe outrages ceaſe, as is uſual in towns which are carried by aſſault, when the firſt fury of the ſtorm was over; the Imperialiſts kept poſſeſſion of Rome ſeveral months; and during all that time the inſolence and brutality of the ſoldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money alone amounted to a million of ducats; what they raiſed by ranſoms and exactions far exceeded that ſum. Rome, though taken ſeveral different times by the northern nations, who over-ran the Empire in the fifth and ſixth centuries, was never treated with ſo much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as now by the bigotted ſubjects of a catholick Monarch [z].

After

[y] Jov. Vit. Colon. 165. [z] Jov. Vit. Colon. 166. Guic. l. xviii. 440, &c. Comment. de capta urbe Romæ ap. Scardium, ii. 230. Ulloa Vita dell. Carlo V. p. 110, &c. Gianonne Hiſt. of Nap. B. xxxi. c. 3. p. 507.

Book IV.

1527. The Pope beſieged in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

After Bourbon's death, the command of the Imperial army devolved on Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange, who, with difficulty, prevailed on as many of his ſoldiers to deſiſt from the pillage, as were neceſſary to inveſt the caſtle of St. Angelo. Clement was immediately ſenſible of his error in having retired into that ill-provided and untenable fort. But as the Imperialiſts, ſcorning diſcipline, and intent only on plunder, puſhed the ſiege with little vigour, he did not deſpair of holding out, until the duke d'Urbino ſhould come to his relief. That general advanced at the head of an army compoſed of Venetians, Florentines, and Swiſs in the pay of France, of ſufficient ſtrength to have delivered Clement from the preſent danger. But d'Urbino, preferring the indulgence of his hatred againſt the family of Medici to the glory of delivering the capital of Chriſtendom, and the head of the church, pronounced the enterprize to be too hazardous; and, from an exquiſite refinement in revenge, having marched forward ſo far, that his army being ſeen from the ramparts of St. Angelo, flattered the Pope with the proſpect of certain relief, he immediately retired[a]. Clement, deprived of every reſource, and reduced to ſuch extremity of famine as to feed on aſſes flesh[b], was obliged to capitulate on ſuch conditions as the conquerors were pleaſed to preſcribe. He agreed to pay four hundred thouſand ducats to the army; to ſurrender to the Emperor all the places of ſtrength belonging to the church; and, beſides giving hoſtages, to remain a priſoner himſelf until the chief articles were performed. He was committed to the care of Alarcon, who, by his ſevere vigilance in guarding Francis, had given

Surrenders himſelf a priſoner June 6.

[a] Guic. l. xviii. 450. [b] Jov. Vit. Colon. 167.

given full proof of his being qualified for that office; and thus, by a ſingular accident, the ſame man had the cuſtody of the two moſt illuſtrious perſonages who had been made priſoners in Europe during ſeveral ages. Book IV. 1527.

The account of this extraordinary and unexpected event was no leſs ſurprizing than agreeable to the Emperor. But in order to conceal his joy from his ſubjects, who were filled with horror at the ſucceſs and crimes of their countrymen, and to leſſen the indignation of the reſt of Europe, he declared that Rome had been aſſaulted without any order from him. He wrote to all the princes with whom he was in alliance, diſclaiming his having had any knowledge of Bourbon's intention [c]. He put himſelf and court into mourning; commanded the rejoicings which had been ordered for the birth of his ſon Philip to be ſtopped; and employing an artifice no leſs hypocritical than groſs, he appointed prayers and proceſſions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the Pope's liberty, which by an order to his generals he could have immediately granted him [d]. The Emperor's behaviour at this juncture.

The good fortune of the houſe of Auſtria was no leſs conſpicuous in another part of Europe. Solyman having invaded Hungary with an army three hundred thouſand ſtrong, Lewis II. King of that country, and of Bohemia, a weak and unexperienced prince, advanced raſhly to meet him with a body of men which did not amount to thirty thouſand. With an imprudence ſtill more unpardonable, he gave the command of theſe troops to Paul Tomorri, a Franciſcan Solyman invades Hungary.

[c] Ruſcelli Lettere di Principi, ii. 234. [d] Sleid. 109. Sandov. i. 822. Mauroc. Hiſt. Veneta. lib. iii. 220.

Book IV. 1527.

Franciſcan monk, archbiſhop of Golocza. This awkward general, in the dreſs of his order, girt with its cord, marched at the head of the troops; and hurried on by his own preſumption, as well as by the impetuoſity of nobles who deſpiſed danger, but were impatient of long ſervice, he fought the fatal battle of Mohacz, in which the King, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and upwards of twenty thouſand men fell the victims of his folly and ill-conduct. Solyman, after his victory, ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns of greateſt ſtrength in the ſouthern provinces of Hungary, and over-running the reſt of the country, carried near two hundred thouſand perſons into captivity. As Lewis was the laſt male of the royal family of Jagellon, the Archduke Ferdinand claimed both his crowns. This claim was founded on a double title; the one derived from the ancient pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria to both kingdoms; the other from the right of his wife, the only ſiſter of the deceaſed Monarch. The feudal inſtitutions however ſubſiſted both in Hungary and Bohemia in ſuch vigour, and the nobles poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive power, that the crowns were ſtill elective, and Ferdinand's rights, if they had not been powerfully ſupported, would have met with little regard. But his own perſonal merit; the reſpect due to the brother of the greateſt Monarch in Chriſtendom; the neceſſity of chuſing a prince able to afford his ſubjects ſome additional protection againſt the Turkiſh arms, which, as they had recently felt their power, they greatly dreaded; together with the intrigues of his ſiſter, who had been married to the late King, overcame the prejudices which the Hungarians had conceived againſt the Archduke as a foreigner;

Auguſt 29. 1526. Defeat of the Hungarians, and death of their King.

Ferdinand elected King.

reigner; and though a conſiderable party voted for the Vaywode of Tranſilvania, at length ſecured Ferdinand the throne of that Kingdom. The ſtates of Bohemia imitated the example of their neighbour kingdom; but in order to aſcertain and ſecure their own privileges, they obliged Ferdinand, before his coronation, to ſubſcribe a deed which they term a *Reverſe*, declaring that he held that crown not by any previous right, but by their gratuitous and voluntary election. By ſuch a vaſt acceſſion of territories, the hereditary poſſeſſion of which they ſecured in proceſs of time to their family, the princes of the houſe of Auſtria attained that pre-eminence in power which hath rendered them ſo formidable to the reſt of Germany [e].

Book IV. 1527.

THE diſſenſions between the Pope and Emperor proved extremely favourable to the progreſs of Lutheraniſm. Charles, exaſperated by Clement's conduct, and fully employed in oppoſing the league which he had formed againſt him, had little inclination and leſs leiſure to take any meaſures for ſuppreſſing the new opinions in Germany. In a diet of the Empire, held at Spires, the ſtate of religion came to be conſidered, and all that the Emperor required of the princes was, that they would wait patiently, and without encouraging innovations, for the meeting of a general council which he had demanded of the Pope. They, in return, acknowledged the convocation of a council to be the proper and regular ſtep towards reforming abuſes in the church; but contended, that a national council held in Germany would be more

Progreſs of the Reformation.

June 25. 1526.

[e] Steph. Broderick Procancelarii Hungar. Clades in campo Mohacz ap. Scardium, ii 218. P. Barre Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. viii. part i. p. 198.

Book IV. 1527.

more effectual for that purpoſe than what he had propoſed. To his advice, concerning the diſcouragement of innovations, they paid ſo little regard, that even during the meeting of the diet at Spires, the divines who attended the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel thither, preached publickly, and adminiſtered the ſacraments according to the rites of the Reformed church [f]. The Emperor's own example emboldened the Germans to treat the Papal authority with little reverence. During the heat of his reſentment againſt Clement, he had publiſhed a long reply to an angry brieve which the Pope had intended as an apology for his own conduct. In this manifeſto, the Emperor, after having enumerated many inſtances of that Pontiff's ingratitude, deceit, and ambition, all which he painted in the ſtrongeſt and moſt aggravated colours, appealed from him to a general council. At the ſame time, he wrote to the college of Cardinals, complaining of Clement's partiality and injuſtice; and requiring them, if he refuſed or delayed to call a council, to manifeſt their concern for the peace of the Chriſtian Church, ſo ſhamefully neglected by its chief paſtor, by ſummoning that aſſembly in their own name [g]. This manifeſto, little inferior in virulence to the invectives of Luther himſelf, was diſperſed over Germany with great induſtry, and being eagerly read by perſons of every rank, did much more than counterbalance the effect of all Charles's declarations againſt the new opinions.

[f] Sleid. 103. [g] Goldaſt. Polit. Imper. p. 984.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK V.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment or horror. To ſee a Chriſtian Emperor, who, by poſſeſſing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the holy ſee, lay violent hands on him who repreſented Chriſt on earth, and detain his ſacred perſon in a rigorous captivity, was conſidered as an impiety that merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and which called for the immediate interpoſition of every dutiful ſon of the church. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a cloſer alliance; and, in order to give ſome check to the Emperor's ambition, had agreed to make a vigorous diverſion in the Low-Countries. The force of every motive which had influenced them at that time, was now increaſed;

1527. General indignation excited againſt the Emperor.

Book V. 1527. creaſed; and to theſe were added, the deſire of reſcuing the Pope out of the Emperor's hands, a meaſure no leſs political, than it appeared to be pious. This, however, rendered it neceſſary to abandon their deſigns on the Low-Countries, and to make Italy the ſeat of war, as it was by vigorous operations in that country, they might promiſe moſt certainty upon delivering Rome, and ſetting Clement at liberty. Francis being now ſenſible, that, in his ſyſtem with regard to the affairs of Italy, the ſpirit of refinement had carried him too far; and that, by an exceſs of remiſſneſs, he had allowed Charles to attain advantages which he might eaſily have prevented, was eager to make reparation for an error of which he was not often guilty, by an activity more ſuitable to his temper. Henry thought his interpoſition neceſſary, in order to hinder the Emperor from becoming maſter of all Italy, and acquiring by that means ſuch ſuperiority of power, as would enable him, for the future, to dictate without controul to the other princes of Europe. Wolſey, whom Francis had taken care to ſecure by flattery and preſents, the certain methods of gaining his favour, neglected nothing that could incenſe his maſter againſt the Emperor. Beſides all theſe publick conſiderations, Henry was influenced by one of a more private nature; having begun about this time to form his great ſcheme of divorcing Catherine of Aragon, towards the execution of which he knew that the ſanction of papal authority would be neceſſary, he was deſirous to acquire as much merit as poſſible with Clement, by appearing to be the chief inſtrument of his deliverance.

Confederacy againſt him. July 11. THE negociation, between princes thus diſpoſed, was not tedious. Wolſey himſelf conducted it, on the part of his ſovereign, with unbounded

unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in perſon at Amiens, where the Cardinal appeared, and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princeſs Mary was agreed to as the baſis of the confederacy; it was reſolved that Italy ſhould be the theatre of war; the ſtrength of the army which ſhould take the field, as well as the contingent of troops or of money which each prince ſhould furniſh, were ſettled; and if the Emperor did not accept of the propoſals they were jointly to make him, they bound themſelves immediately to declare war, and to begin hoſtilities. Henry, who took every reſolution with impetuoſity, entered ſo eagerly into this new alliance, that in order to give Francis the ſtrongeſt proof of his friendſhip and reſpect, he formally renounced the ancient claim of the Engliſh Monarchs to the crown of France, which had long been the pride and ruin of the nation; as a full compenſation for which, he accepted a penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, to be paid annually to himſelf and his ſucceſſors [a]. Book V. 1527. Auguſt 18.

The Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, ſtill remained a priſoner under the ſevere cuſtody of Alarcon. The Florentines no ſooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner; expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the ſtatues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themſelves a free ſtate, re-eſtabliſhed their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally The Florentines recover their freedom.

[a] Herbert, 83, &c. Rym. Fœd. 14. 203.

Book V. 1527.

ally the Pope, ſeized Ravenna, and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in depoſite. The dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold likewiſe on part of the ſpoils of the unfortunate Pontiff, whom they conſidered as irretrievably ruined [b].

The Imperial troops inactive.

LANNOY, on the other hand, laboured to derive ſome ſolid benefit from that unforeſeen event, which gave ſuch ſplendour and ſuperiority to his maſter's arms. For this purpoſe he marched to Rome, together with Moncada, and the marquis del Guaſto, at the head of all the troops which they could aſſemble in the kingdom of Naples. The arrival of this reinforcement brought new calamities on the unhappy citizens of Rome; for the ſoldiers envying the wealth of their companions, imitated their licence, and with the utmoſt rapacity gathered the gleanings, which had eſcaped the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans. There was not now an army in Italy capable of making head againſt the Imperialiſts; and nothing more was requiſite to reduce Bologna, and the other towns in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, than to have appeared before them. But the ſoldiers having been ſo long accuſtomed, under Bourbon, to an entire relaxation of diſcipline, and having taſted the ſweets of living at diſcretion in a great city, almoſt without the controul of a ſuperior, were become ſo impatient of military ſubordination, and ſo averſe to ſervice, that they refuſed to leave Rome, unleſs all their arrears were paid; a condition which they knew to be impoſſible. At the ſame time they declared, that they would not obey any other perſon than the prince of Orange, whom the army had choſen general. Lannoy, finding that it was no longer ſafe for him

[b] Guic. l. 18. 453.

him to remain among licentious troops, who deſpiſed his dignity, and hated his perſon, returned to Naples; ſoon after the marquis del Guaſto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the ſame reaſon. The prince of Orange, a general only in name, and by the moſt precarious of all tenures, the good-will of ſoldiers whom ſucceſs and licence had rendered capricious, was obliged to pay more attention to their humours, than they did to his commands. Thus the Emperor, inſtead of reaping any of the advantages which he might have expected from the reduction of Rome, had the mortification to ſee the moſt formidable body of troops that he had ever brought into the field, continue in a ſtate of inactivity from which it was impoſſible to rouze them [c].

The French army marches into Italy.

THIS gave the King of France and the Venetians leiſure to form new ſchemes, and to enter into new engagements for delivering the Pope, and preſerving the liberties of Italy. The new reſtored republick of Florence very imprudently joined with them; and Lautrec, of whoſe abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own maſter, was, in order to gratify them, appointed generaliſſimo of the league. It was with the utmoſt reluctance he undertook that office, being unwilling to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the difficulties and diſgraces which the negligence of the King, or the malice of his favourites, might bring upon him. The beſt troops in France marched under his command; and the King of England, though he had not yet declared war againſt the Emperor, advanced a conſiderable ſum towards carrying on the expedition.

[c] Guic. l. 18. 454.

Book V.

1527. His operations.

dition. Lautrec's firſt operations were prudent, vigorous, and ſucceſsful. By the aſſiſtance of Andrew Doria, the ableſt ſea officer of that age, he rendered himſelf maſter of Genoa, and re-eſtabliſhed in that republick the faction of the Fregoſi, together with the dominion of France. He obliged Alexandria to ſurrender after a ſhort ſiege, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. He took Pavia, which had ſo long reſiſted the arms of his ſovereign, by aſſault, and plundered it with that cruelty which the memory of the fatal diſaſter that had befallen the French nation before its walls naturally inſpired. All the Milaneſe, which Antonio de Leyva defended with a ſmall body of troops, kept together, and ſupported by his own addreſs and induſtry, muſt have ſoon ſubmitted to his power, if he had continued to bend the force of his arms againſt that country. But Lautrec durſt not complete a conqueſt which would have been ſo honourable to himſelf, and of ſuch advantage to the league. Francis knew his confederates to be more deſirous of circumſcribing the Imperial power in Italy, than of acquiring new territories for him, and was afraid that if Sforza were once re-eſtabliſhed in Milan, they would ſecond but coldly the attack which he intended to make on the kingdom of Naples. For this reaſon he inſtructed Lautrec not to puſh his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the Pope, and the ſolicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were ſo urgent as afforded him a decent pretext to march forward without yielding to the intreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who inſiſted on his laying ſiege to Milan [d].

While

[d] Guic. l. xviii. 461. Bellay, 107, &c. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 238.

1527.

The Emperor ſets the Pope at liberty.

While Lautrec advanced ſlowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the diſpoſal of the Pope's perſon, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious veil of religion with which he uſually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles, in many inſtances, appears to have been but little under the influence of religious conſiderations, and had frequently, on this occaſion, expreſſed an inclination to tranſport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the ſpectacle of the two moſt illuſtrious perſonages in Europe ſucceſſively priſoners in his court. But the fear of giving new offence to all Chriſtendom, and of filling his own ſubjects with horror, obliged him to forego that ſatisfaction [e]. The progreſs of the confederates made it now neceſſary either to ſet the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to ſome place of confinement more ſecure than the caſtle of St. Angelo. Many conſiderations induced him to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money requiſite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vaſt arrears due to it. In order to obtain this, he had aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Valladolid about the beginning of the year, and having laid before them the ſtate of his affairs, and repreſented the neceſſity of making great preparations to reſiſt the enemies, whom envy at the ſucceſs which had crowned his arms would unite againſt him, he demanded a large ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms; but the Cortes, as the nation was already exhauſted by extraordinary donatives, refuſed to load it with any new burden, and, in ſpite of all his endeavours to gain or to intimidate the

Feb. 11.

[e] Guic. l. 18. 457.

Book V. 1527. members, perſiſted in this reſolution [f]. No reſource, therefore, remained but the extorting from Clement, by way of ranſom, a ſum ſufficient for diſcharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

Nor was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unſucceſsful, towards haſtening ſuch a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he diſarmed the reſentment of cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him deſirous of ſhewing the world, that as his power had at firſt depreſſed the Pope, it could now raiſe him to his former dignity. By favours and promiſes he gained Moronè, who, by one of thoſe whimſical revolutions which occur ſo often in his life, and which ſo ſtrongly diſplay his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialiſts. The addreſs and influence of two ſuch men eaſily removed all the obſtacles which retarded an accommodation, and brought the treaty for Clement's liberty to a concluſion, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more intolerable than a prince in his ſituation had reaſon to expect. He was obliged to advance, in ready money, an hundred thouſand crowns for the uſe of the army; to pay the ſame ſum at the diſtance of a fortnight; and at the end of three months, an hundred and fifty thouſand more. He engaged not to take part in the war againſt Charles, either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a cruzado, and the tenth of eccleſiaſtical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hoſtages, but put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, as a ſecurity for the performance moiety

[f] Sandov. i. p. 814.

of theſe articles [g]. Having raiſed the firſt moiety by a ſale of eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from impriſonment. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of ſix months, as well as full of the ſuſpicion and diſtruſt natural to the unfortunate, was ſo much afraid that the Imperialiſts might ſtill throw in obſtacles to put off his deliverance, that he diſguiſed himſelf the preceding night in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted ſomewhat of his vigilance upon the concluſion of the treaty, he made his eſcape undiſcovered. He arrived before next morning at Orvieto, without any attendance but a ſingle officer; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief inſtrument of procuring him liberty [h].

Book V. 1527. Decem. 6.

Overtures of the Emperor to Francis and Henry.

During theſe tranſactions, the ambaſſadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in conſequence of the treaty which Wolſey had concluded with the French King. The Emperor, unwilling to draw on himſelf the united forces of the two Monarchs, diſcovered an inclination to relax ſomewhat the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had adhered inflexibly. He offered to accept of the two millions of crowns which Francis had propoſed to pay as an equivalent for the dutchy of Burgundy, and to ſet his ſons at liberty, on condition that he would recal his army out of Italy, and reſtore Genoa, together with the other conqueſts which he had made in that country. With regard to Sforza, he inſiſted that his fate

[g] Guic. l. 18. 467, &c. Jov. Vit. Colon. 169.

[h] Guic. l. 18. 467, &c. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 252.

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ſhould be determined by the judges appointed to inquire into his crimes. Theſe propoſitions being made to Henry, he tranſmitted them to his ally the French King, whom it more nearly concerned to examine, and to anſwer them; and if Francis had been ſincerely ſolicitous either to conclude peace, or preſerve conſiſtency in his own conduct, he ought inſtantly to have cloſed with overtures which differed but little from the propoſitions which he himſelf had formerly made[i]. But his views were now much changed; his alliance with Henry, Lautrec's progreſs in Italy, and the ſuperiority of his army there above that of the Emperor, hardly left him room to doubt of the ſucceſs of his enterprize againſt Naples. Full of thoſe ſanguine hopes, he was at no loſs to find pretexts for rejecting or evading what the Emperor had propoſed. Under the appearance of ſympathy with Sforza, for whoſe intereſts he had not hitherto diſcovered much ſolicitude, he again demanded the full and unconditional re-eſtabliſhment of that unfortunate prince in his dominions. Under colour of its being imprudent to rely on the Emperor's ſincerity, he inſiſted that his ſons ſhould be ſet at liberty before the French troops left Italy, or ſurrendered Genoa. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe demands, as well as the reproachful inſinuation with which they were accompanied, irritated Charles to ſuch a degree, that he could hardly liſten to them with patience; and repenting of his moderation, which had made ſo little impreſſion on his enemies, declared that he would not depart in the ſmalleſt article from the conditions which he had now offered. Upon this the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors,

[i] Recueil des Traitez, 2. 249.

ambaſſadors, (for Henry had been drawn unaccountably to concur with Francis in theſe ſtrange propoſitions,) demanded and obtained their audience of leave [k]. Book V. 1527.

NEXT day, two heralds, who had accompanied the ambaſſadors of purpoſe, though they had hitherto concealed their character, having aſſumed the enſigns of their office, appeared in the Emperor's court, and being admitted into his preſence, they, in the name of their reſpective maſters, and with all the ſolemnities cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, denounced war againſt him. Charles received both with a dignity ſuitable to his own rank; but ſpoke to each in a tone adapted to the ſentiments which he entertained of their ſovereigns. He accepted the defiance of the Engliſh monarch with a firmneſs tempered by ſome degree of decency and reſpect. His reply to the French King abounded with that acrimony of expreſſion, which perſonal rivalſhip, exaſperated by the memory of many injuries inflicted as well as ſuffered, naturally ſuggeſts. He deſired the French herald to acquaint his ſovereign, that he would henceforth conſider him not only as a baſe violator of publick faith, but as a ſtranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. Francis, too high-ſpirited to bear ſuch an imputation, had recourſe to an uncommon expedient in order to vindicate his character. He inſtantly ſent back the herald with a *cartel* of defiance, in which he gave the Emperor the lie in form, challenged him to ſingle combat, requiring him to name the time and place of the encounter, and the weapons with which he choſe to fight. Charles, as he was

1528. January 22. They denounced war againſt the Emperor. Francis challenges the Emperor to ſingle combat.

[k] Rym. 14. 200. Herbert, 85. Guic. l. 18. 471.

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was not inferior to his rival in ſpirit or bravery, readily accepted the challenge; but after ſeveral meſſages concerning the arrangement of all the circumſtances relative to the combat, accompanied with mutual reproaches, bordering on the moſt indecent ſcurrility, all thoughts of this duel, more becoming the heroes of romance than the two greateſt Monarchs of their age, were entirely laid aſide [1].

The effect of this in promoting the cuſtom of duelling.

The example of two perſonages ſo illuſtrious drew ſuch general attention, and carried with it ſo much authority, that it had conſiderable influence in introducing an important change in manners all over Europe. Duels, as has already been obſerved, had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and forming a part of their juriſprudence, were authorized by the magiſtrate on many occaſions, as the moſt proper method of terminating queſtions with regard to property, or of deciding in thoſe which reſpected crimes. But ſingle combats being conſidered as ſolemn appeals to the omniſcience and juſtice of the Supreme Being, they were allowed only in publick cauſes, according to the preſcription of law, and carried on in a judicial form. Men accuſtomed to this manner of deciſion in courts of juſtice, were naturally led to apply it to perſonal and private quarrels. Duels, which at firſt could be appointed by the civil judge alone, were fought without the interpoſition of his authority, and in caſes to which the laws did not extend. The tranſaction between Charles and Francis ſtrongly countenanced this practice. Upon every affront, or injury

[1] Recueil des Traitez, 2. Mem. de Bellay, 103, &c. Sandov. Hiſt. 1. 837.

njury which ſeemed to touch his honour, a gentleman thought himſelf intitled to draw his ſword, and to call on his adverſary to make reparation. Such an opinion, introduced among men of fierce courage, of high ſpirit, and of rude manners, when offence was often given, and revenge was always prompt, produced moſt fatal conſequences. Much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom was ſhed; many uſeful lives were ſacrificed; and, at ſome periods, war itſelf hath hardly been more deſtructive than theſe conteſts of honour. So powerful, however, is the dominion of faſhion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to aboliſh a practice unknown among the ancients, and not juſtifiable by any principle of reaſon; though at the ſame time it muſt be admitted, that, to this abſurd cuſtom, we muſt aſcribe, in ſome degree, the extraordinary gentleneſs and complaiſance of modern manners, and that reſpectful attention of one man to another, which, at preſent, render the ſocial intercourſes of life far more agreeable and decent than among the moſt civilized nations of antiquity.

Retreat of the Imperialiſts from Rome. February.

WHILE the two Monarchs ſeemed ſo eager to terminate their quarrel by a perſonal combat, Lautrec continued his operations, which promiſed to be more deciſive. His army, which was now increaſed to thirty-five thouſand men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonſtrances and the intreaties of the prince of Orange, prevailed at laſt on the Imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept poſſeſſion during ten months.

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months. But of that flouriſhing army which had entered the city, ſcarcely one half remained; the reſt, cut off by the plague, or waſted by diſeaſes, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes [m]. Lautrec made the greateſt efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finiſhed the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders diſappointed all his meaſures, and conducted them, with little loſs, to Naples. The people of that kingdom extremely impatient to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, received the French with open arms, wherever they appeared to take poſſeſſion; and Gaeta and Naples excepted, hardly any place of importance remained in the hands of the Imperialiſts. The preſervation of the former was owing to the ſtrength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the preſence of the Imperial army. Lautrec, however, ſat down before Naples; but finding it vain to think of reducing a city by force while defended by ſo many troops, he was obliged to employ the ſlower, but leſs dangerous method of blockade; and having taken meaſures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently aſſured his maſter, that famine would ſoon compel the beſieged to capitulate. Theſe hopes were ſtrongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the ſea. The gallies of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had ſucceeded Lannoy in the vice-royalty, rigged out a number of gallies ſuperior to Doria's, manned them with a choſen body

French beſiege Naples.

[m] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

body of Spaniſh veterans, and going on board himſelf, together with the marquis del Guaſto, attacked Philippino before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But he, by his ſuperior ſkill in naval operations, eaſily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, moſt of his fleet deſtroyed, and Guaſto, with many officers of diſtinction, being taken priſoners, were put on board the captive gallies, and ſent by Philippino, as trophies of his victory, to his uncle [n].

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Notwithstanding this flattering proſpect of ſucceſs, many circumſtances concurred to fruſtrate Lautrec's expectations. Clement, though he always acknowledged his being indebted to Francis for the recovery of his liberty, and often complained of the cruel treatment which he had met with from the Emperor, was not influenced at this juncture by principles of gratitude, nor, which is more extraordinary, was he ſwayed by the deſire of revenge. His paſt misfortunes rendered him more cautious than ever; and his recollection of the errors which he had committed, increaſed the natural irreſolution of his mind. While he amuſed Francis with promiſes, he ſecretly negociated with Charles; and being ſolicitous, above all things, to re-eſtabliſh his family in Florence with their ancient authority, which he could not expect from Francis, who had entered into ſtrict alliance with the new republick, he leaned rather to the ſide of his enemy than to that of his benefactor, and gave Lautrec no aſſiſtance towards carrying on his operations. The Venetians, viewing with jealouſy the progreſs of the French arms, were intent only upon recovering ſuch maritime towns

Circumſtances which retard the progreſs of it.

[n] Guic. l. xix. 87. P. Heuter. lib. x. c. 2. p. 231.

Book V. towns in the Neapolitan dominions as were to be poſſeſſed by their republick, while they were altogether careleſs about the reduction of Naples, on which the ſucceſs of the common cauſe depended [o]. The King of England, inſtead of being able, as had been projected, to embarraſs the Emperor by attacking his territories in the Low-Countries, found his ſubjects ſo averſe to an unneceſſary war, which would have ruined the trade of the nation, that in order to ſilence their clamours, and put a ſtop to the inſurrections ready to break out among them, he was compelled to conclude a truce for eight months with the governeſs of the Netherlands [p]. Francis himſelf, with the ſame unpardonable inattention of which he had formerly been guilty, and for which he had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, neglected to make proper remittances to Lautrec for the ſupport of his army [q].

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Revolt of Andrew Doria from France.

THESE unexpected events retarded the progreſs of the French, diſcouraging both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their meaſures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republick, and trained up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice, retained the ſpirit of independence natural to the former, together with the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect ſtranger to the arts of ſubmiſſion or flattery neceſſary in courts, but conſcious at the ſame time of his own merit and importance, he always offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonſtrances with boldneſs. The French miniſters, unaccuſtomed to

[o] Guic. l. xix. 491. [p] Herbert, 90. Rymer, 14. 258.
[q] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

to ſuch liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with ſo little deference; and though Francis himſelf had a juſt ſenſe of Doria's ſervices, as well as an high eſteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually repreſenting him as a man haughty, intractable, and more ſolicitous to aggrandize himſelf than to promote the intereſt of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the King's mind with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. From thence proceeded ſeveral affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice, even in naval affairs, was often ſlighted; an attempt was made to ſeize the priſoners taken by his nephew in the ſea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill-humour. But an injury offered to his country, tranſported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and, removing thither ſome branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly ſhewed that they intended to render that town, long the object of jealouſy and hatred to the Genoeſe, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country, remonſtrated againſt this in the higheſt tone, not without threats, if the meaſure were not inſtantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the moſt odious light, irritated Francis to ſuch a degree, that he commanded Barbeſieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to ſail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arreſt Doria, and to ſeize his gallies. This raſh order, the execution of which could have been ſecured only by the moſt profound ſecrecy, was

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Book V. 1528. was concealed with ſo little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of ſafety. Guaſto, his priſoner, who had long obſerved and fomented his growing diſcontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promiſes to enter into the Emperor's ſervice, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and reſentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to diſpatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully ſenſible of the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria ſent back his commiſſion, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoiſting the Imperial colours, ſailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, as he had formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance.

Wretched ſituation of the French army before Naples.

His arrival opened the communication with the ſea, and reſtored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity; and the French, having loſt their ſuperiority at ſea, were ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions. The prince of Orange, who ſucceeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, ſhewed himſelf by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the proſperity which they had enjoyed under his command, ſerved him with the utmoſt alacrity, he let ſlip no opportunity of harraſſing the enemy, and by continual alarms or ſallies, fatigued and weakened

weakened them [r]. As an addition to all theſe misfortunes, the diſeaſes common in that country during the ſultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The priſoners communicated to them the peſtilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with ſuch violence, that few, either officers or ſoldiers, eſcaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thouſand men, a number hardly ſufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty [s]; and being now beſieged in their turn, they ſuffered all the miſeries from which the Imperialiſts were delivered. Lautrec, after ſtruggling long with ſo many diſappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind at the ſame time that the peſtilence waſted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his ſovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which ſo many brave men had fallen victims [t]. By his death, and the indiſpoſition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to ſuch a truſt. He, with troops no leſs diſpirited than reduced, retreated in diſorder to Averſa; which town being inveſted by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the neceſſity of conſenting, that he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, that his troops ſhould lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were ſaved; and the Emperor, by his own perſeverence and the good conduct of

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Aug. 15.

Raiſe the ſiege.

[r] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. p. 31, &c. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1139. Bellay, 114, &c.

[s] Bellay, 117, &c.

[t] P. Heuter. Rerum Auſtr. lib. x. c. 2. 231.

Book V. of his generals, acquired once more the ſuperiority in Italy [u].

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Genoa recovers its liberty.

THE loſs of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners was Doria's higheſt ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the ſervice of France, and enter into that of the emperor. A moſt favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now preſented itſelf. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the peſtilence, was almoſt deſerted by its inhabitants; the French garriſon being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconſiderable number; Doria's emiſſaries found that ſuch of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to ſecond all his meaſures. Things wearing this promiſing aſpect, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a ſmall body of men which he landed, ſurprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garriſon, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and Doria took poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed or reſiſtance. Want of proviſion, quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to aboliſh ſuch an odious monument of their ſervitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

Sept. 12.

Diſintereſted conduct of Doria.

IT was now in Doria's power to have rendered himſelf the ſovereign of his country, which he had ſo happily delivered from oppreſſion. The fame of his former actions, the ſucceſs of his preſent

[u] Bellay, 117, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxv, xxvi.

preſent attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the ſupport of the emperor, all conſpired to facilitate his attaining the ſupreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he ſacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf to the virtuous ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing liberty in his country, the higheſt object at which ambition can aim. Having aſſembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he aſſured them, that the happineſs of ſeeing them once more in poſſeſſion of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his ſervices; that, more delighted with the name of citizen than of ſovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them the right of ſettling what form of government they would now chuſe to be eſtabliſhed among them. The people liſtened to him with tears of admiration, and of joy. Twelve perſons were elected to new-model the conſtitution of the republick. The influence of Doria's virtue and example communicated itſelf to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the ſtate, ſeemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the ſame form of government which had ſubſiſted with little variation ſince that time in Genoa, was eſtabliſhed with univerſal applauſe. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, reſpected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his profeſſions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preſerved a great aſcendant over the councils of the republick, which owed its being to his generoſity. The authority which he poſſeſſed was more flattering, as well as more ſatisfactory, than that derived

Book V. 1528. derived from ſovereignty; a dominion founded in love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is ſtill reverenced by the Genoeſe; and he is diſtinguiſhed in their publick monuments, and celebrated in the works of their hiſtorians, by the moſt honourable of all appellations, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY [x].

1529. Operations in the Milaneſe. FRANCIS, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, diſcredited by ſo many loſſes, made new efforts in the Milaneſe. But the Count of St. Pol, a raſh and unexperienced officer, to whom he gave the command, was no match for Antonio de Leyva, the ableſt of the Imperial generals. He, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, checked, with a handful of men, the briſk but ill concerted motions of the French; and though ſo infirm himſelf that he was carried conſtantly in a litter, he ſurpaſſed them, when occaſion required, no leſs in activity than in prudence. By an unexpected march he ſurprized, defeated, and took the Count of St. Pol, ruining the French army in the Milaneſe as entirely as the prince of Orange had ruined that which beſieged Naples [y].

Negociations between Charles and Francis. AMIDST theſe vigorous operations in the field, each party diſcovered an impatient deſire of peace; and continual negociations were carried on for that purpoſe. The French King diſcouraged, and almoſt exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, was reduced now to think of obtaining the releaſe of his ſons by conceſſions, not by the terror of his arms. The Pope

[x] Guic. l. xix. p. 498. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1146. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxvi. p. 36, &c. [y] Guic. l. xix. 520. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 233. Mem. de Bellay, 121.

Pope hoped to recover by a treaty whatever he had loſt in the war. The Emperor, notwithſtanding the advantages which he had gained, had many reaſons to make him wiſh for an accommodation. Solyman, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Auſtrian territories with the whole force of the Eaſt. The Reformation gaining ground daily in Germany, the princes who favoured it had entered into a confederacy, which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the Empire. The Spaniards murmured at a war the weight of which reſted chiefly on them. The variety and extent of the Emperor's operations far exceeded what his revenues could ſupport; his ſucceſs hitherto had been owing chiefly to his own good fortune, and to the abilities of his generals; nor could he flatter himſelf that they, with troops deſtitute of every thing neceſſary, would always triumph over enemies ſtill in a condition to renew their attacks. All parties, however, were at equal pains to conceal, or to diſſemble their real ſentiments. The Emperor, that his inability to carry on the war might not be ſuſpected, inſiſted on high terms in the tone of a conqueror. The Pope, ſolicitous not to loſe his preſent allies, before he came to any agreement with Charles, continued to make a thouſand proteſtations of fidelity to the former, while he privately negociated with the latter. Francis, afraid that his confederates might prevent him by treating for themſelves with the Emperor, had recourſe to many diſhonourable artifices in order to turn their attention from the meaſures which he was taking to adjuſt all differences with his rival.

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In this ſituation of affairs, when all the contending powers wiſhed for peace, but durſt not

Book V. venture too haſtily on the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it, two ladies undertook to procure this bleſſing ſo much deſired by all Europe. Theſe were Margaret of Auſtria, dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's aunt, and Louiſe, Francis's mother. They agreed on an interview at Cambray, and being lodged in two adjoining houſes, between which a communication was opened, met together without ceremony or obſervation, and held daily conferences, to which no perſon whatever was admitted. As both were profoundly ſkilled in buſineſs, thoroughly acquainted with the ſecrets of their reſpective courts, and poſſeſſed with perfect confidence in each other, they ſoon made great progreſs towards a final accommodation; and the ambaſſadors of all the confederates waited in anxious ſuſpenſe to know their fate, the determination of which was entirely in their hands [z].

1529. May.

Separate treaty between the Pope and Charles. June 20.

But whatever diligence they uſed to haſten forward a general peace, the Pope had the addreſs and induſtry to get the ſtart of his allies, by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty for himſelf. The Emperor, impatient to viſit Italy in his way to Germany; and deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity in the one country, before he attempted to compoſe the diſorders which abounded in the other, found it neceſſary to ſecure at leaſt one alliance among the Italian ſtates, on which he might depend. That with Clement, who courted it with unwearied importunity, ſeemed more proper than any other. Charles being extremely ſolicitous to make ſome reparation for the inſults which he had offered to the ſacred character of the Pope, and to redeem paſt offences by new merit, granted

[z] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib x. c. 3. p. 133. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

granted Clement, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued ſeries of ſucceſs. Among other articles, he engaged to reſtore all the territories belonging to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; to re-eſtabliſh the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. In return for theſe ample conceſſions, Clement gave the Emperor the inveſtiture of Naples without the reſerve of any tribute, but the preſent of a white ſteed, in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; abſolved all who had been concerned in aſſaulting and plundering Rome; and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout their dominions [a].

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The account of this tranſaction quickened the negociations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louiſe to an immediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid ſerved as the baſis of that which they concluded; the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, That the Emperor ſhould not, for the preſent, demand the reſtitution of Burgundy, reſerving, however, in full force, his rights and pretenſions to that dutchy: That Francis ſhould pay two millions of crowns as the ranſom of his ſons, and, before they were ſet at liberty, ſhould reſtore ſuch towns as he ſtill held in the Milaneſe: That he ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois: That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to Naples,

Auguſt 5. Peace of Cambray between Charles and Francis.

[a] Guic. l. xix. 522.

Book V. 1529. Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; That he ſhould immediately conſummate the marriage concluded between him and the Emperor's ſiſter Eleanora [b].

Advantageous for the Emperor.

Thus Francis, chiefly from his impatience to procure liberty to his ſons, ſacrificed every thing which had at firſt prompted him to take arms, or which had induced him, by continuing hoſtilities, during nine ſucceſſive campaigns, to protract the war to a length hardly known in Europe before the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies, and the impoſition of exorbitant taxes, became univerſal. The Emperor, by this treaty, was rendered ſole arbiter of the fate of Italy; he delivered his territories in the Netherlands from an ignominious badge of ſubjection; and after having baffled his rival in the field, he preſcribed to him the conditions of peace. The different conduct and ſpirit with which the two Monarchs carried on the operations of war, led naturally to ſuch an iſſue of it. Charles, inclined by temper, as well as obliged by his ſituation, concerted all his ſchemes with caution, purſued them with perſeverance, and, obſerving circumſtances and events with attention, let none eſcape that could be improved to advantage. Francis, more enterprizing than ſteady, undertook great deſigns with warmth, but executed them with remiſſneſs; and diverted by his pleaſures, or deceived by his favourites, he often loſt the moſt promiſing opportunities of ſucceſs. Nor had the character of the two rivals themſelves greater influence on the operations of the war, than the oppoſite qualities of the generals

[b] P. Heutr. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 234. Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. Carl. V. ii. 28.

generals whom they employed. Among the Imperialiſts, valour tempered with prudence; fertility of invention aided by experience; diſcernment to penetrate the deſigns of their enemies; a provident ſagacity in conducting their own meaſures; in a word, all the talents which form great commanders and enſure victory, were conſpicuous. Among the French, theſe qualities were either wanting, or the very reverſe of them abounded; nor could they boaſt of one man (unleſs we except Lautrec, who was always unfortunate) that equalled the merit of Peſcara, Leyva, Guaſto, the Prince of Orange, and other leaders whom Charles had to ſet in oppoſition to them. Bourbon, Moronè, Doria, who by their abilities and conduct might have been capable of balancing the ſuperiority which the Imperialiſts had acquired, were loſt through the careleſſneſs of the King, and the malice or injuſtice of his counſellors; and the moſt fatal blows given to France during the progreſs of the war, proceeded from the deſpair and reſentment of theſe three perſons, who were forced to abandon her ſervice.

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THE hard conditions to which Francis was obliged to ſubmit were not the moſt afflicting circumſtance to him in the treaty of Cambray. He loſt his reputation and the confidence of all Europe, by abandoning his allies to his rival. Unwilling to enter into the details neceſſary for adjuſting their intereſts, or afraid that whatever he claimed for them muſt have been purchaſed by farther conceſſions on his own part, he gave them up in a body; and, without the leaſt proviſion in their behalf, left the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, together with ſuch of the Neapolitan barons as had joined his army,

Diſhonourable to Francis.

Book V. army, to the mercy of the Emperor. They exclaimed loudly againſt this baſe and perfidious action, of which Francis himſelf was ſo much aſhamed, that in order to avoid the pain of hearing from their ambaſſadors the reproaches which he juſtly merited, it was ſome time before he would conſent to allow them an audience. Charles, on the other hand, was attentive to the intereſt of every perſon who had adhered to him; the rights of ſome of his Flemiſh ſubjects, who had eſtates or pretenſions in France, were ſecured; one article was inſerted, obliging Francis to reſtore the blood and memory of the conſtable Bourbon: and to grant his heirs the poſſeſſion of his lands which had been forfeited; another, by which indemnification was ſtipulated for thoſe French gentlemen who had accompanied Bourbon in his exile [c]. This conduct, laudable in itſelf, and placed in the moſt ſtriking light by a compariſon with that of Francis, gained Charles as much eſteem as the ſucceſs of his arms had acquired him glory.

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Henry acquieſces in it.

Francis did not treat the King of England with the ſame neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the ſteps of his negociation at Cambray, and luckily found that Monarch in a ſituation which left him no choice, but to approve implicitly of his meaſures, and to concur with them. Henry had been ſoliciting the Pope for ſome time, in order to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Aragon his Queen. Several motives combined in prompting the King to urge this ſuit. As he was powerfully influenced at ſome ſeaſons by religious conſiderations,

His ſcheme of being divorced from his Queen.

[c] Guic. l. xix. p. 525. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 235.

ations, he entertained many ſcruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage with his brother's widow; his affections had long been eſtranged from the Queen, who was older than himſelf, and had loſt all the charms which ſhe poſſeſſed in the earlier part of her life; he was paſſionately deſirous of having male iſſue; Wolſey artfully fortified his ſcruples, and encouraged his hopes, that he might widen the breach between him and the Emperor, Catharine's nephew; and, what was more forcible perhaps in its operation than all theſe united, the King had conceived a violent love for the celebrated Anne Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty, and of greater accompliſhments, whom, as he found it impoſſible to gain her on other terms, he determined to raiſe to the throne. The Papal authority had often been interpoſed to grant divorces for reaſons leſs ſpecious than thoſe which Henry produced. When the matter was firſt propoſed to Clement, during his impriſonment in the caſtle of St. Angelo, as his hopes of recovering liberty depended entirely on the King of England, and his ally of France, he expreſſed the warmeſt inclination to gratify him. But no ſooner was he ſet free, than he diſcovered other ſentiments. Charles, who eſpouſed the protection of his aunt with zeal inflamed by reſentment, alarmed the Pope on the one hand with threats, which made a deep impreſſion on his timid mind; and allured him on the other with thoſe promiſes in favour of his family, which he afterwards accompliſhed. Upon the proſpect of theſe, Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the intereſt of the Romiſh religion in England, and to run the riſque of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the Papal

Book V. 1529. Papal ſee. After amuſing Henry during two years, with all the ſubtleties and chicane which the court of Rome can ſo dexterouſly employ to protract or defeat any cauſe; after diſplaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which the Engliſh hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, have found it no eaſy matter to trace and unravel; he, at laſt, recalled the powers of the delegates whom he had appointed to judge in the point, avocated the cauſe to Rome, leaving the King no other hope of obtaining a divorce but from the perſonal deciſion of the Pope himſelf. As Clement was now in ſtrict alliance with the Emperor, who had purchaſed his friendſhip by ſuch exorbitant conceſſions, Henry deſpaired of procuring any ſentence from the former, but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and paſſions concurred in preventing him from relinquiſhing his ſcheme of a divorce, which he determined to accompliſh by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendſhip being neceſſary to counterbalance the Emperor's power, he, in order to ſecure that, not only offered no remonſtrances againſt the total neglect of their allies, in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the preſent of a large ſum, as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ranſom for his ſons [d].

Auguſt 12. The Emperor viſits Italy. Meanwhile the Emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, and a conſiderable body of troops. He left the government of Spain during his abſence to the Empreſs Iſabella. By his long reſidence in that country, he had acquired ſuch thorough knowledge of the character of the people, that he could

[d] Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

could perfectly accommodate the maxims of his government to their genius. He could even assume, upon some occasions, such popular manners, as gained wonderfully upon the Spaniards. A striking instance of his disposition to gratify them had occurred a few days before he embarked for Italy: He was to make his publick entry into the city of Barcelona; and some doubts having arisen among the inhabitants, whether they should receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona, Charles instantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring that he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed with this flattering expression of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy, and the states of the province swore allegiance to his son Philip, as heir of the county of Barcelona. A similar oath had been taken in all the kingdoms of Spain, with equal satisfaction [e]. Book V. 1529.

The Emperor appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror. Ambassadors from all the princes and states of that country attended his court, waiting to receive his decision with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he first landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the republick several new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. He affected to unite in his publick entry into that city the state and majesty that suited an Emperor, with the humility becoming an obedient son of the church; and while at the head of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to Nov. 5.

[e] Sandov. ii. p. 50. Ferrer. ix. 116.

Book V. to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiſs the feet of that very Pope whom he had ſo lately detained a priſoner. The Italians, after ſuffering ſo much from the ferocity and licentiouſneſs of his armies, and after having been long accuſtomed to form in their imagination a picture of Charles which bore ſome reſemblance to that of the barbarous monarchs of the Goths or Huns, who had formerly afflicted their country with like calamities, were ſurprized to ſee a prince of a graceful appearance, affable and courteous in his deportment, of regular manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion [f]. They were ſtill more aſtoniſhed when he ſettled all the concerns of the princes and ſtates which now depended on him, with a degree of moderation and equity much beyond what they had expected.

1529.

His moderation, and the motives of it.

Charles himſelf, when he ſet out from Spain, far from intending to give any ſuch extraordinary proof of his ſelf-denial, ſeems to have been reſolved to avail himſelf to the utmoſt of the ſuperiority which he had acquired in Italy. But various circumſtances concurred in pointing out the neceſſity of purſuing a very different courſe. The progreſs of the Turkiſh Sultan, who after over-running Hungary, had penetrated into Auſtria, and laid ſiege to Vienna with an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, loudly called on him to collect his whole force to oppoſe that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the Vizier, ſoon obliged Solyman to abandon that enterprize with infamy and loſs, the religious diſorders ſtill growing

Sept. 13.

October 16.

[f] Sandov. Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V. ii. 50, 53, &c.

growing in Germany made the Emperor's presence highly neceſſary there [g]: The Florentines, inſtead of giving their conſent to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Medici, which by the treaty of Barcelona the Emperor had bound himſelf to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the vaſt preparations for his journey had involved him in unuſual expences; and on this, as well as many other occaſions, the multiplicity of his affairs, together with the narrowneſs of his revenues, obliged him to contract his vaſt ſchemes of ambition, and to forego preſent and certain advantages, that he might guard againſt more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all theſe conſiderations, finding it neceſſary to aſſume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his preſence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all paſt offences, but granted him the inveſtiture of the dutchy, together with his niece, the King of Denmark's daughter, in marriage. He allowed the duke of Ferrara to keep poſſeſſion of all his dominions, adjuſting the points in diſpute between him and the Pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians, upon the reaſonable condition of their reſtoring whatever they had uſurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or Papal territories. In return for ſo many conceſſions he exacted conſiderable ſums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his journey towards Germany with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity [h].

THESE

[g] Sleidan, 121. Guic. l. xx. 550.

[h] Sandov. ii. 55, &c.

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1530. Re-eſtabliſhes the authority of the Medici in Florence.

These treaties, which reſtored tranquillity to Italy after a tedious war, the calamities of which had chiefly affected that country, were publiſhed at Bologna with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, applauding the Emperor, to whoſe moderation and generoſity they aſcribed the bleſſings of peace which they had ſo long deſired. The Florentines alone did not partake of this general joy. Animated with a zeal for liberty more laudable than prudent, they determined to oppoſe the reſtoration of the Medici. The Imperial army had already entered their territories, and formed the ſiege of their capital. But though deſerted by all their allies, and left without any hope of ſuccour, they defended themſelves many months with an obſtinate valour worthy of better ſucceſs, and even when they ſurrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of ſecuring ſome remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his deſire to gratify the Pope, fruſtrated all their expectations, and aboliſhing their ancient form of government, raiſed Alexander di Medici to the ſame abſolute dominion over that ſtate which his family have retained to the preſent times. Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange, the Imperial general, was killed during this ſiege. His eſtate and titles deſcended to his ſiſter Claude de Chalons, who was married to René count of Naſſau, and ſhe tranſmitted to her poſterity of the houſe of Naſſau the title of Princes of Orange, which they have rendered ſo illuſtrious[i].

After

[i] Guic. l. xx. p. 541, &c. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 236.

1530.

After the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, which the Pope performed with the accuſtomed formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy [k]; and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His preſence became every day more neceſſary in that country, and was ſolicited with equal importunity by the Catholics and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity which the abſence of the Emperor, the conteſts between him and the Pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded them, the latter had gained much ground. Moſt of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only eſtabliſhed in their territories that form of worſhip which he approved, but had entirely ſuppreſſed the rites of the Romiſh church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almoſt one half of the Germanick body had revolted from the Papal ſee; and its dominion, even in that part which had not hitherto ſhaken off the yoke, was conſiderably weakened by the example of the neighbouring ſtates, or by the ſecret progreſs of thoſe doctrines which had undermined it among them. Whatever ſatisfaction the Emperor, while he was at open enmity with the ſee of Rome, might have felt in thoſe events that tended to mortify and embarraſs the Pope, he could not help perceiving now, that the religious diviſions in Germany would, in the end, prove extremely hurtful to the Imperial authority. The weakneſs of former Emperors had ſuffered the great vaſſals of the Empire to make ſuch ſucceſsful encroachments upon their power and prerogative,

State of affairs, civil and religious, in Germany. Feb. 22 and 24.

[k] H. Cornel. Agrippa de duplici Coronatione Car. V. ap. Scard. ii. 266.

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prerogative, that during the whole courſe of a war, which had often required the exertion of his utmoſt ſtrength, Charles hardly drew any effectual aid from Germany, and found that magnificent titles or obſolete pretenſions were almoſt the only advantages which he had gained by ſwaying the Imperial ſceptre. He now became fully ſenſible that if he did not recover in ſome degree the prerogatives which his predeceſſors had loſt, and acquire the authority, as well as poſſeſs the name, of head of the Empire, his high dignity would contribute more to obſtruct than to promote his ambitious ſchemes. Nothing, he ſaw, was more eſſential towards attaining this, than to ſuppreſs opinions which might form new bonds of confederacy among the princes of the Empire, and unite them by ties ſtronger and more ſacred than any political connection. Nothing ſeemed to lead more certainly to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, than to employ zeal for the eſtabliſhed religion, of which he was the natural protector, as the inſtrument of extending his civil authority.

Proceedings of the Diet at Spires, March 15, 1529.

ACCORDINGLY, a proſpect no ſooner opened of coming to an accommodation with the Pope, than, by the Emperor's appointment, a diet of the Empire was held at Spires, in order to take into conſideration the ſtate of religion. The decree of the diet aſſembled there in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, which was almoſt equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The greateſt delicacy of addreſs, however, was requiſite in proceeding to any deciſion more rigorous. The minds of men kept in perpetual agitation by a controverſy carried on during twelve years, without intermiſſion of debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed to

to an high degree. They were accuſtomed to innovations, and ſaw the boldeſt of them ſucceſsful. Having not only aboliſhed old rights, but ſubſtituted new forms in their place, they were influenced as much by attachment to the ſyſtem which they had embraced, as by averſion to that which they had abandoned. Luther himſelf, of a ſpirit not to be worn out by the length and obſtinacy of the combat, or to become remiſs upon ſucceſs, continued the attack with as much vigour as he had begun it. His diſciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal, and ſome ſurpaſſed him in learning, were no leſs capable than their maſter to conduct the controverſy in the propereſt manner. Many of the laity, ſome even of the princes, trained up amidſt theſe inceſſant diſputations, and in the habit of liſtening to the arguments of the contending parties who alternately appealed to them as judges, came to be profoundly ſkilled in all the queſtions which were agitated, and, upon occaſion, could ſhew themſelves not inexpert in any of the arts with which theſe theological encounters were managed. It was obvious from all theſe circumſtances, that any violent deciſion of the diet muſt have immediately precipitated matters into confuſion, and have kindled in Germany the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other commiſſioners appointed by the Emperor, demanded of the diet, was, to enjoin thoſe ſtates of the Empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree iſſued againſt Luther at Worms in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-four, to perſevere in the obſervation of it, and to prohibit the other ſtates from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from aboliſhing the maſs, before the meeting of a general council. After much diſpute, a decree

to

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to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices [l].

The followers of Luther proteſt againſt them. April 19.

THE Elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free cities [m], entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt this decree, as unjuſt and impious. On that account they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of PROTESTANTS [n], an appellation which hath ſince become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiſcriminately to all the ſects of whatever denomination which have revolted from the Roman ſee. Not ſatisfied with this declaration of their diſſent from the decree of the diet, the Proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors into Italy to lay their grievances before the Emperor from whom they met with the moſt diſcouraging reception. Charles was at that time in cloſe union with the Pope, and ſolicitous to attach him inviolably to his intereſt. During their long reſidence at Bologna, they held many conſultations concerning the moſt effectual means of extirpating the hereſies which had ſprung up in Germany. Clement, whoſe cautious and timid mind the propoſal of a general council filled with horror even beyond what Popes, the conſtant enemies of ſuch aſſemblies, uſually feel, employed every argument to diſſuade the Emperor from conſenting to that meaſure. He repreſented general councils as factious, ungovernable, preſumptuous, formidable to civil authority, and too ſlow in their operations to remedy

Deliberations of the Pope and Emperor.

[l] Sleid. Hiſt. 117. [m] The fourteen cities were Straſburgh, Nurembergh, Ulm, Conſtance, Reutlingen, Windſheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Iſna, Weiſſemburgh, Nordlingen, and St Gal. [n] Sleid. Hiſt. 119. F. Paul, Hiſt. p. 45. Seckend. ii. 127.

remedy diſorders which required an immediate cure. Experience, he ſaid, had now taught both the Emperor and himſelf, that forbearance and lenity exaſperated the ſpirit of innovation, which they ought to have mollified; it was neceſſary, therefore, to have recourſe to the rigorous methods which ſuch a deſperate caſe required; Leo's ſentence of excommunication, together with the decree of the diet at Worms, ſhould be carried into execution; and it was incumbent on the Emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe thoſe, on whom the reverence due either to eccleſiaſtical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whoſe views were very different from the Pope's, and who became daily more ſenſible how obſtinate and deep-rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Proteſtants by means leſs violent, and conſidered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpoſe; but promiſed, if gentler arts failed of ſucceſs, that then he would exert himſelf with vigour to reduce thoſe ſtubborn enemies of the Catholic faith [o].

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Such were the ſentiments with which the Emperor ſet out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the Empire to be held at Augſburg. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of obſerving the diſpoſition of the Germans with regard to the points in controverſy, and found their minds every where ſo much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to ſeverity or rigour ought to be attempted, until all other meaſures proved ineffectual. He made his publick entry into Augſburg with extraordinary pomp; and

Emperor preſent at the Diet of Augſburg. March 22.

[o] F. Paul, xlvii. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hiſt. de Confeſſ. d'Auxbourg, par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

Book V. found there ſuch a full aſſembly of the members of the diet as was ſuitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration, and to the honour of an Emperor, who, after a long abſence, returned to them crowned with reputation and ſucceſs. His preſence ſeems to have communicated to all parties an unuſual ſpirit of moderation and deſire of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, leſt he ſhould offend the Emperor by bringing into his preſence a perſon excommunicated by the Pope, and the author of all thoſe diſſenſions which it now appeared ſo difficult to compoſe. At the Emperor's deſire, all the Proteſtant princes forbad the divines who accompanied them to preach in publick during their reſidence at Augſburg. For the ſame reaſon they employed Melancthon, the man of the greateſt learning, as well as of the moſt pacifick and gentle ſpirit among the reformers, to draw up a confeſſion of their faith, expreſſed in terms as little offenſive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who ſeldom ſuffered the rancour of controverſy to envenom his ſtyle, even in writings purely polemical, executed a taſk ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition with great moderation and ſucceſs. The Creed which he compoſed, known by the name of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, from the place where it was preſented, was read publickly in the diet; ſome Popiſh divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadverſions; a diſpute enſued between them and Melancthon, ſeconded by ſome of his brethren; but though Melancthon ſoftened ſome articles, made conceſſions with regard to others, and put the leaſt exceptionable ſenſe upon all; though the

1530. June 15.

The confeſſion of Augſburg.

the Emperor himſelf laboured with great earneſtneſs to reconcile the contending parties; ſo many marks of diſtinction were now eſtabliſhed, and ſuch inſuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition ſeemed utterly deſperate [p].

From the divines, among whom his endeavours had been ſo unſucceſsful, Charles turned to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find them, how deſirous ſoever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more diſpoſed than the former to renounce their opinions. At that time, zeal for religion took poſſeſſion of the minds of men, to a degree which can ſcarcely be conceived by thoſe who live in an age when the paſſions excited by the firſt manifeſtation of truth, and the firſt recovery of liberty, have in a great meaſure ceaſed to operate. This zeal was then of ſuch ſtrength as to overcome attachment to their political intereſt, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and other chiefs of the Proteſtants, though ſolicited ſeparately by the Emperor, and allured by the promiſe or proſpect of thoſe advantages which it was known they were moſt ſolicitous to attain, refuſed, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cauſe of God, for the ſake of any earthly acquiſition [q].

Severe decree againſt the Proteſtants.

Every ſcheme in order to gain or diſunite the Proteſtant party proving abortive, nothing now

[p] Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr. Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Vonder. Hard. Hiſt. Liter. Reform. Lipſ. 1717. fol. p. 159. [q] Sleid. 132. Scultet. Annal. 158.

Book V. 1530. now remained for the Emperor but to take ſome vigorous meaſures towards aſſerting the doctrines and authority of the eſtabliſhed church. Theſe, Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual courſe of dealing with ſuch obſtinate heretics. In compliance with his opinions and remonſtrances, the diet iſſued a decree, condemning moſt of the peculiar tenets held by the Proteſtants; forbidding any perſon to protect or tolerate ſuch as taught them; enjoining a ſtrict obſervance of the eſtabliſhed rites; and prohibiting any further innovation under ſevere penalties. All orders of men were required to aſſiſt with their perſons and fortunes in carrying this decree into execution; and ſuch as refuſed to obey it, were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the Imperial chamber, the ſupreme court of judicature in the Empire. To all which was ſubjoined a promiſe, that an application ſhould be made to the Pope, requiring him to call a general council within ſix months, in order to terminate all controverſies by its ſovereign deciſions[r].

Nov. 19.

They enter into a league at Smalkalde.

THE ſeverity of this decree, which they conſidered as a prelude to the moſt violent perſecution, alarmed the Proteſtants, and convinced them that the Emperor was reſolved on their deſtruction. The dread of thoſe calamities which were ready to fall on the church, oppreſſed the feeble ſpirit of Melancthon; and as if the cauſe had already been deſperate, he gave up himſelf to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by ſeveral treatiſes which he addreſſed to them, was not

[r] Sleid. 139.

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not diſconcerted or diſmayed at the proſpect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his other deſponding diſciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon thoſe truths which they had lately aſſerted with ſuch laudable boldneſs [s]. His exhortations made the deeper impreſſion upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popiſh princes of the Empire for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed religion, to which Charles himſelf had acceded [t]. This convinced them that it was neceſſary to ſtand on their guard; and that their own ſafety, as well as the ſucceſs of their cauſe, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverſe party, and with theſe ſentiments concerning the conduct proper for themſelves, they aſſembled at Smalkalde. There they concluded a league of mutual defence againſt all aggreſſors [u], by which they formed the Proteſtant ſtates of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to conſider themſelves as ſuch, they reſolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and aſſiſt their new confederacy.

Dec. 22.

The emperor propoſes to have his brother elected King of the Romans.

An affair not connected with religion furniſhed them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whoſe ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increaſe of his power and grandeur, had formed a ſcheme of continuing the Imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans. The preſent juncture was favourable for the execution of that deſign. The Emperor's arms had been every where victorious;

[s] Seck. ii. 180. Sleid. 140. iii. 11.

[t] Seck. ii. 200.

[u] Sleid. Hiſt. 142.

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torious; he had given law to all Europe at the late peace; no rival now remained in a condition to balance or to controul him; and the Electors, dazzled with the ſplendor of his ſucceſs, or overawed by the greatneſs of his power, durſt ſcarcely diſpute the will of a prince, whoſe ſolicitations carried with them the authority of commands. Nor did he want plauſible reaſons to enforce the meaſure. The affairs of his other kingdoms, he ſaid, obliged him to be often abſent from Germany; the growing diſorders occaſioned by the controverſies about religion, as well as the formidable neighbourhood of the Turks, who continually threatened to break in with their deſolating armies into the heart of the Empire, required the conſtant preſence of a prince endowed with prudence capable of compoſing the former, and with power as well as valour ſufficient to repel the latter. His brother Ferdinand poſſeſſed theſe qualities in an eminent degree; by reſiding long in Germany, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their conſtitution and manners; having been preſent almoſt from the firſt riſe of their religious diſſenſions, he knew what remedies were moſt proper, what they could bear, and how to apply them; as his own dominions lay on the Turkiſh frontier, he was the natural defender of Germany againſt the invaſions of the Infidels, being prompted by intereſt no leſs than he would be bound in duty to oppoſe them.

The Proteſtants averſe to it.

THESE arguments made little impreſſion on the Proteſtants. Experience taught them, that nothing had contributed more to the undiſturbed progreſs of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long abſence of Charles, and the ſlackneſs in the reins of government which theſe occaſioned; after deriving ſuch

such advantages from a state of anarchy, they were extremely unwilling to give themselves a new and a fixed master. They perceived clearly the extent of Charles's ambition, that he aimed at rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in his family, and would of course establish in the Empire an absolute dominion, to which elective princes could not have aspired with equal facility. They determined, therefore, to oppose Ferdinand's election with the utmost vigour, and to rouse their countrymen, by their example and exhortations, to withstand this encroachment on their liberties. The Elector of Saxony, accordingly, not only refused to be present in the electoral college, which the Emperor summoned to meet at Cologne, but instructed his eldest son to appear there, and to protest against the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and subversive of the liberties of the Empire. But the other Electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his absence or protest, chose Ferdinand King of the Romans; who a few days after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle [x].

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1531. January 5.

He is chosen.

When the Protestants, who were assembled a second time at Smalkalde, received an account of this transaction, and heard, at the same time, that prosecutions were commenced, in the Imperial chamber, against some of their number, on account of their religious principles, they thought it necessary, not only to renew their former confederacy, but immediately to dispatch their ambassadors into France and England. Francis had observed, with all the jealousy of a rival, the reputation which the Emperor had acquired

Negociations of the Protestants with France.

[x] Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter Rer. Austr. lib. x. c 6. p. 240.

Book V. 1531. Feb. 29.

acquired by his ſeeming diſintereſtedneſs and moderation in ſettling the affairs of Italy; and beheld, with great concern, the ſucceſsful ſtep which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a King of the Romans. Nothing, however, would have been more impolitick than to precipitate his kingdom into a new war when exhauſted by extraordinary efforts, and diſcouraged by ill ſucceſs, before it had got time to recruit its ſtrength, or to forget paſt misfortunes. As no provocation had been given, and hardly a pretext had been afforded him, he could not violate a treaty of peace which he himſelf had ſo lately ſolicited, without forfeiting the eſteem of all Europe, and being deteſted as a prince void of probity and honour. He obſerved, with great joy, powerful factions beginning to form in the Empire; he liſtened with the utmoſt eagerneſs to the complaints of the Proteſtant princes; and without ſeeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe ſparks of political diſcord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpoſe, he ſent William de Bellay, one of the ableſt negociators in France, into Germany, who viſiting the courts of the malecontent princes, and heightening their ill-humour by various arts, concluded an alliance between them and his maſter[y], which though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occaſions to Charles's ambitious projects; and ſhewed the diſcontented princes of Germany where, for the future, they might find a protector no leſs able than willing to undertake their

[y] Bellay, 129, a. 130. b. Sec. iii. 14.

their defence againſt the encroachments of the Emperor. Book V. 1531.

With England.

THE King of England, highly incenſed againſt Charles, in complaiſance to whom, the Pope had long retarded, and now openly oppoſed his divorce, was no leſs diſpoſed than Francis to ſtrengthen a league which might be rendered ſo formidable to the Emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into ſuch a labyrinth of ſchemes and negociations, and he was, at the ſame time, ſo intent on aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in England, that he had no leiſure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to reſt ſatisfied with giving general promiſes, together with a ſmall ſupply in money, to the confederates of Smalkalde[z].

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

MEANWHILE, many circumſtances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of hereſy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his intereſt to conſolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Proteſtants, already conſiderable as well by their numbers as by their zeal, had acquired additional weight and importance by their joining in that confederacy into which the raſh ſteps taken at Augſburg had forced them. Having now diſcovered their own ſtrength, they deſpiſed the deciſions of the Imperial chamber; and being ſecure of foreign protection, were ready to ſet the head of the Empire at defiance. At the ſame time the peace with France was precarious, the friendſhip of

[z] Herbert, 152, 154.

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of an irreſolute and intereſted pontiff was not to be relied on; and Solyman, in order to repair the infamy and loſs which his arms had ſuſtained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Auſtria with more numerous forces. On all theſe accounts, eſpecially the laſt, a ſpeedy accommodation with the malecontent princes, became neceſſary, not only for the accompliſhment of his future ſchemes, but for aſcertaining his preſent ſafety. Negociations were, accordingly, carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his aſſociates; after many delays occaſioned by their jealouſy of the Emperor, and of each other, after innumerable difficulties ariſing from the inflexible nature of religious tenets, which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquiſhed, in the ſame manner as points of political intereſt, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified ſolemnly in the Diet at Ratiſbon. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that univerſal peace be eſtabliſhed in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within ſix months the Emperor ſhall endeavour to procure: That no perſon be moleſted on account of religion: That a ſtop be put to all proceſſes begun by the Imperial chamber againſt Proteſtants, and the ſentences already paſſed to their detriment be declared void. On their part, the Proteſtants engaged to aſſiſt the Emperor with all their forces in reſiſting the invaſion of the Turks [a]. Thus by their firmneſs in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themſelves of the Emperor's ſituation, the Proteſtants obtained terms which amounted almoſt to a toleration of their religion; all the conceſſions

Grants them favourable terms. July 23. Auguſt 3.

[a] Du Mont Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87. 89.

conceſſions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Proteſtants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious ſect, came henceforth to be conſidered as a political body of no ſmall conſequence [b].

Campaign in Hungary.

The intelligence which Charles received of Solyman's having entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thouſand men, cut ſhort the deliberations of the Diet at Ratiſbon; the contingent, both of troops and money, which each prince was to furniſh towards the defence of the Empire, having been already ſettled. The Proteſtants, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themſelves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces which exceeded in number the quota impoſed on them; the Catholicks imitating their example, one of the greateſt and beſt appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, aſſembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans, under the marquis del Guaſto; by ſome heavy-armed cavalry from the Low-Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raiſed in Bohemia, Auſtria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thouſand diſciplined foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, beſides a prodigious ſwarm of irregulars. Of this vaſt army, worthy the firſt prince in Chriſtendom, the Emperor took the command in perſon; and mankind waited in ſuſpence the iſſue of a deciſive battle between the two greateſt Monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with ſuch exceſſive

[b] Sleid. 149, &c. Seck. iii. 19.

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excessive caution, that a campaign, for which such immense preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Constantinople towards the end of autumn [c]. It is remarkable, that in such a martial age, when every gentleman was a soldier, and every prince a general, this was the first time that Charles, who had already carried on such extensive wars, and gained so many victories, appeared at the head of his troops. In this first essay of his arms, to have opposed such a leader as Solyman, was no small honour; to have obliged him to retreat, merited very considerable praise.

1532. September and October.

August 16.

About the beginning of this campaign, the Elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick. The Reformation rather gained than lost by that event; the new Elector, no less attached than his predecessors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the station which they had held at the head of the Protestant party, and defended, with the boldness and zeal of youth, that cause which they had fostered and reared with the caution of old age.

The Emperor's interview with the Pope in his way to Spain.

Immediately after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, impatient to revisit Spain, set out on his way thither, for Italy. As he was extremely desirous of an interview with the Pope, they met a second time at Bologna, with the same external demonstrations of respect and friendship, but with little of that confidence, which had subsisted between them during their late negociations

[c] Jovii Hist. lib. xxx. p. 100, &c. Barre Hist. de l'Empire, i. 8. 347.

gociations there. Clement was much diſſatisfied with the Emperor's proceedings at Augſburg; his conceſſions with regard to the ſpeedy convocation of a council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the ſevere decree againſt the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Proteſtants at Ratiſbon, and the more explicit promiſe concerning a council, with which it was accompanied, had irritated him ſtill farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a council would be attended with ſalutary effects, and partly from his deſire to pleaſe the Germans, having ſolicited him by his ambaſſadors to call that aſſembly without delay, and now urging the ſame thing in perſon, Clement was greatly embarraſſed what reply he ſhould make to a requeſt, which it was indecent to refuſe, and dangerous to grant. He endeavoured at firſt to divert Charles from the meaſure; but finding him inflexible, he had recourſe to artifices which he knew would delay, if not intirely defeat, the calling of that aſſembly. Under the plauſible pretext of its being previouſly neceſſary to ſettle, with all parties concerned, the place of the council's meeting; the manner of its proceedings; the right of the perſons who ſhould be admitted to vote; and the authority of their deciſions; he diſpatched a nuncio, accompanied by an ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Elector of Saxony, as head of the Proteſtants. With regard to each of theſe articles, inextricable difficulties and conteſts aroſe. The Proteſtants demanded a council to be held in Germany; the Pope inſiſted that it ſhould meet in Italy: They contended that all points in diſpute ſhould be determined by the words of holy ſcripture alone; he conſidered not only the decrees of the church, but the opinions of fathers and doctors as of equal authority:

Negociations concerning a general council.

Book V. authority: They required a free council, in which the divines commiſſioned by different churches ſhould be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the council in ſuch a manner as would render it entirely dependant on his pleaſure. Above all, the Proteſtants thought it unreaſonable that they ſhould bind themſelves to ſubmit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles theſe decrees were to be founded, by what perſons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would obſerve. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unneceſſary to call a council, if thoſe who demanded it did not previouſly declare their reſolution to acquieſce in its decrees. In order to adjuſt ſuch a variety of points, many expedients were propoſed; and the negociations ſpun out to ſuch a length, as effectually anſwered Clement's purpoſe of putting off the meeting of a council, without drawing on himſelf the whole infamy of obſtructing a meaſure which all Europe deemed ſo eſſential to the good of the church [d].

1532.

and for preſerving the tranquillity of Italy.

Together with this negociation about calling a council, the Emperor carried on another, which he had ſtill more at heart, for ſecuring the peace eſtabliſhed in Italy. As Francis had renounced his pretenſions in that country with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the firſt pretext afforded him, or embrace the firſt opportunity which preſented itſelf of recovering what he had loſt. It became neceſſary, on this account, to take meaſures for aſſembling an army able to oppoſe him. As his treaſury, drained by a long war, could not ſupply the ſums requiſite for keeping ſuch a body conſtantly on foot, he attempted

[d] F. Paul, Hiſt. 61. Seckend. iii. 73.

tempted to throw that burden on his allies, and to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions at their expence, by propoſing that the Italian ſtates ſhould enter into a league of defence againſt all invaders; that, on the firſt appearance of danger, an army ſhould be raiſed and maintained at the common charge; and that Antonio de Leyva ſhould be appointed the generaliſſimo. Nor was the propoſal unacceptable to Clement, though for a reaſon very different from that which induced the Emperor to make it. He hoped, by this expedient, to deliver Italy from the German and Spaniſh veterans, which had ſo long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and ſtill kept them in ſubjection to the Imperial yoke. A league was accordingly concluded; all the Italian ſtates, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it; the ſum which each of the contracting parties ſhould furniſh towards maintaining the army was fixed; the Emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave ſo much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to ſupport. Having diſbanded part of them, and removed the reſt to Sicily and Spain, he embarked on board Doria's gallies, and arrived at Barcelona [e]. Book V. 1532. 1533. Feb. 24. April 22.

Notwithstanding all his precautions for ſecuring the peace of Germany, and maintaining that ſyſtem which he had eſtabliſhed in Italy, the Emperor became every day more and more apprehenſive that both would be ſoon diſturbed by the intrigues or arms of the French King. His apprehenſions were well founded, as nothing but the deſperate ſituation of his affairs could have brought Francis to give his conſent to a treaty ſo diſhonourable and diſadvantageous as that

Deſigns and negociations of the French King againſt the Emperor;

[e] Guic. l. xx. 551. Ferreras, ix. 149.

Book V. 1533. that of Cambray: He, at the very time of ratifying it, had formed a reſolution to obſerve it no longer than neceſſity compelled him, and took a ſolemn proteſt, though with the moſt profound ſecrecy, againſt ſeveral articles in the treaty, particularly that whereby he renounced all pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, as unjuſt, injurious to his heirs, and invalid. One of the crown lawyers, by his command, entered a proteſt to the ſame purpoſe, and with the like ſecrecy, when the ratification of the treaty was regiſtered in the parliament of Paris [f]. Francis ſeems to have thought that, by employing an artifice unworthy of a King, deſtructive of publick faith, and of the mutual confidence on which all tranſactions between nations are founded, he was releaſed from any obligation to perform the moſt ſolemn promiſes, or to adhere to the moſt ſacred engagements. From the moment he concluded the peace of Cambray, he wiſhed and watched for an opportunity of violating it with ſafety. He endeavoured, for that reaſon, to ſtrengthen his alliance with the King of England, whoſe friendſhip he cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity. He put the military force of his own kingdom on a better and more reſpectable footing than ever. He artfully fomented the jealouſy and diſcontent of the German princes.

particularly with the Pope.

But above all, Francis laboured to break the ſtrict confederacy which ſubſiſted between Charles and Clement; and he had ſoon the ſatisfaction to obſerve appearances of diſguſt and alienation ariſing in the mind of that ſuſpicious and intereſted Pontiff, which gave him hopes that their union would not be laſting. As the Emperor's deciſion in favour of the duke of Ferrara

[f] Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 52.

Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope, Francis aggravated the injuſtice of that proceeding, and ſſattered Clement that the papal ſee would find in him a more impartial and no leſs powerful protector. As the importunity with which Charles demanded a council was extremely offenſive to the Pope, Francis artfully created obſtacles to prevent it, and attempted to divert the German princes, his allies, from inſiſting ſo obſtinately on that point [g]. As the emperor had gained ſuch an aſcendant over Clement by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the ſame irreſiſtible bait, propoſing a marriage between his ſecond ſon, Henry duke of Orleans, and Catharine the daughter of the Pope's couſin Laurence di Medici. On the firſt overtures of this match, the Emperor could not perſuade himſelf that Francis really intended to debaſe the royal blood of France by an alliance with Catharine, whoſe anceſtors had been ſo lately private citizens and merchants in Florence, and believed that he meant only to flatter or amuſe the ambitious Pontiff. He thought it neceſſary, however, to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a dazzling offer might have made, by promiſing to break off the marriage which had been agreed on between his own niece, the King of Denmark's daughter, and the Duke of Milan, and to ſubſtitute Catharine in her place. But the French ambaſſador's producing unexpectedly full powers to conclude the marriage treaty with the duke of Orleans, this expedient had no effect. Clement was ſo highly pleaſed with an honour which added ſuch luſtre and dignity to the houſe of Medici, that he offered to grant Catharine the inveſtiture of conſiderable territories in Italy by way of portion;

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[g] Bellay, 141, &c. Seck. iii. 48. F. Paul, 63.

Book V. 1533. he ſeemed ready to ſupport Francis in proſecuting his ancient claims in that country, and conſented to a perſonal interview with that Monarch [h].

Interview between the Pope and Francis.

CHARLES was at the utmoſt pains to prevent a meeting, in which nothing was likely to paſs but what would be of detriment to him; nor could he bear, after he had twice condeſcended to viſit the Pope in his own territories, that Clement ſhould beſtow ſuch a mark of diſtinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by ſea, at an unfavourable ſeaſon, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the Pope's eagerneſs to accompliſh the match overcame all ſcruples of pride, or fear, or jealouſy, which muſt have influenced him on any other occaſion. The interview, notwithſtanding ſeveral artifices of the emperor to prevent it, took place at Marſeilles, with extraordinary pomp and demonſtrations of confidence on both ſides, and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the ſequel as fatal to France, as it was then thought diſhonourable, was conſummated. But whatever ſchemes may have been ſecretly concerted by the Pope and Francis in favour of the duke of Orleans, to whom his father propoſed to make over all his rights in Italy, ſo careful were they to avoid giving any cauſe of offence to the Emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them [i]; and even in the marriage-articles, Catharine renounced all claims and pretenſions in Italy, except to the dutchy of Urbino [k].

October.

Pope's conduct with regard to the King of England's divorce.

BUT at the very time when he was carrying on theſe negociations, and forming this connection

[h] Guic. l. xx. 551, 553. Bellay, 138. [i] Guic l. xx. 555. [k] Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. 101.

tion with Francis, which gave ſo great umbrage to the emperor, ſuch was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he ſuffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the King of England, and was no leſs attentive to gratify him in that particular, than if the moſt cordial union had ſtill ſubſiſted between them. Henry's ſuit for a divorce had now continued near ſix years; during all which period the pope negociated, promiſed, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and diſappointments, longer than could have been expected from a prince of ſuch a cholerick and impetuous temper, his patience was at laſt ſo much exhauſted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had ſolicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, by a ſentence founded on the authority of Univerſities, Doctors, and Rabbies, who had been conſulted with reſpect to the point, annulled the King's marriage with Catharine; her daughter was declared illegitimate; and Anne Boleyne acknowledged as Queen of England. At the ſame time Henry began not only to neglect and to threaten the Pope, whom he had hitherto courted, but to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been ſuch a zealous defender. Clement, who had already ſeen ſo many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, became apprehenſive at laſt that England would imitate their example; and partly from his ſolicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French King's ſolicitations, determined to give Henry ſuch ſatisfaction as might ſtill retain him within the boſom of the church. But the violence of the Cardinals, devoted to the Emperor, did not allow the Pope leiſure for executing this prudent reſolution, and hurried him,

Book V. 1533. 1534. March 23.

Book V. 1534. with a precipitation fatal to the Roman See, to iſſue a bull reſcinding Cranmer's ſentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time ſpecified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deſerted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any meaſures with the court of Rome; his ſubjects ſeconded his reſentment and indignation; an act of Parliament was paſſed, aboliſhing the papal power and juriſdiction in England; by another, the King was declared ſupreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was veſted in him. That vaſt fabric of eccleſiaſtical dominion, which had been raiſed with ſuch art, and whoſe foundations ſeemed ſo deep, being no longer ſupported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry himſelf, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romiſh church as fiercely as he attacked its juriſdiction. He alternately perſecuted the Proteſtants for rejecting the former, and the Catholicks for acknowledging the latter. But his ſubjects being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not chuſe to ſtop ſhort at the preciſe point preſcribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break ſome of their fetters, they were ſo impatient to ſhake off what ſtill remained [k], that in the following reign, with the general applauſe of the nation, a total ſeparation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of diſcipline and juriſdiction.

Papal authority aboliſhed in England.

A SHORT

[k] Herbert. Burn. Hiſt. of Reform.

1534.

A short delay might have ſaved the See of Rome from all the unhappy conſequences of Clement's raſhneſs. Soon after his ſentence againſt Henry, he fell into a languiſhing diſtemper, which gradually waſting his conſtitution, put an end to his Pontificate, the moſt unfortunate, both during its continuance, and by its effects, that the church had known for many ages. The very day on which the Cardinals entered the conclave, they raiſed to the papal throne Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, and the eldeſt member of that body, who aſſumed the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleaſed, after an interval of more than an hundred years, to ſee the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen. Perſons more capable of judging, formed a favourable preſage of his adminiſtration, from the experience which he had acquired under four Pontificates, as well as the character of prudence and moderation which he had uniformly maintained in a ſtation of great eminence, and during an active period that required both talents and addreſs[1].

Death of Clement VII. Sept. 25.

Election of Paul III. Oct. 13.

Europe, it is probable, owed the continuance of its peace to the death of Clement; for although no traces remain in hiſtory of any league concluded between him and Francis, it is ſcarcely to be doubted but that he would have ſeconded the operations of the French arms in Italy, that he might have gratified his ambition by ſeeing one of his family poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power in Florence, and another in Milan. But upon the election of Paul III. who had hitherto

[1] Guic. l. xx. 556. F. Paul, 64.

Book V. 1535. therto adhered uniformly to the Imperial intereſt, Francis found it neceſſary to ſuſpend his operations for ſome time, and to put off the commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, on which he was fully determined.

Inſurrection of the Anabaptiſts in Germany.

WHILE Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved ſo fatal to himſelf and his ſubjects, a tranſaction of a very ſingular nature was carried on in Germany. Among many beneficial and ſalutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cauſe, it was attended, as muſt be the caſe, in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with ſome conſequences of an oppoſite nature. When the human mind is rouzed by grand objects, and agitated by ſtrong paſſions, its operations acquire ſuch force, that they are apt to become irregular and extravagant. Upon any great revolution in religion, ſuch irregularities abound moſt, at that particular period, when men, having thrown off the authority of their ancient principles, do not yet fully comprehend the nature, or feel the obligation of thoſe new tenets which they have embraced. The mind, in that ſituation, puſhing forward with the boldneſs which prompted it to reject eſtabliſhed opinions, and not guided by a clear knowledge of the ſyſtem ſubſtituted in their place, diſdains all reſtraint, and runs into wild notions, which often lead to ſcandalous or immoral conduct. Thus, in the firſt ages of the Chriſtian church, many of the new converts, having renounced their antient Creeds, and being but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity, broached the moſt extravagant opinions, equally ſubverſive of piety and virtue; all which errors diſappeared or were exploded when the knowledge

knowledge of religion increaſed, and came to be more generally diffuſed. In like manner, ſoon after Luther's appearance, the raſhneſs or ignorance of ſome of his diſciples led them to publiſh tenets no leſs abſurd than pernicious, which being propoſed to men extremely illiterate, but fond of novelty, and at a time when their minds were turned wholly towards religious ſpeculations, gained too eaſy credit and authority among them. To theſe cauſes muſt be imputed the extravagances of Muncer, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five, as well as the rapid progreſs which they made among the peaſants; but though the inſurrection excited by that Fanatic was ſoon ſuppreſſed, ſeveral of his followers lurked in different places, and endeavoured privately to propagate his opinions. Book V. 1534.

In thoſe provinces of Upper Germany, which had already been ſo cruelly waſted by their enthuſiaſtic rage, the magiſtrates watched their motions with ſuch ſevere attention, that many of them found it neceſſary to retire into other countries, ſome were puniſhed, others driven into exile, and their errors were entirely rooted out. But in the Netherlands and Weſtphalia, where the pernicious tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guarded againſt with leſs care, they got admittance into ſeveral towns, and ſpread the infection of their principles. The moſt remarkable of their religious tenets related to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which, as they contended, ought to be adminiſtered only to perſons grown up to years of underſtanding, and ſhould be performed not by ſprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: For this reaſon they condemned the baptiſm of infants, and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their ſociety, the Origin and tenets of that ſect.

Book V. 1534. the ſect came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Anabaptiſts. To this peculiar notion concerning baptiſm, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apoſtolick age, and contains nothing inconſiſtent with the peace and order of human ſociety, they added other principles of a moſt enthuſiaſtick, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that, among Chriſtians who had the precepts of the goſpel to direct, and the ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtracy was not only unneceſſary, but an unlawful encroachment on their ſpiritual liberty; that the diſtinctions occaſioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, which conſiders all men as equal, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed; that all Chriſtians, throwing their poſſeſſions into one common ſtock, ſhould live together in that ſtate of equality which becomes members of the ſame family; that as neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of the New Teſtament had placed any reſtraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they ſhould uſe that liberty which God himſelf had granted to the patriarchs.

Settle in Munſter.

Such opinions, propagated and maintained with enthuſiaſtick zeal and boldneſs, were not long of producing the violent effects natural to them. Two anabaptiſt prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, poſſeſſed with the rage of making proſelytes, fixed their reſidence at Munſter, an Imperial city in Weſtphalia, of the firſt rank, under the ſovereignty of its biſhop, but governed by its own ſenate and conſuls. As neither of theſe Fanatics wanted the talents requiſite in deſperate enterprizes,

terprizes, great reſolution, the appearance of ſanctity, bold pretenſions to inſpiration, and a confident and plauſible manner of diſcourſing, they ſoon gained many converts. Among theſe were Rothman, who had firſt preached the Proteſtant doctrine in Munſter, and Cnipperdoling, a citizen of good birth, and conſiderable eminence. Emboldened by the countenance of ſuch diſciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not ſatisfied with that liberty, they made ſeveral attempts though without ſucceſs, to ſeize the town, in order to get their tenets eſtabliſhed by public authority. At laſt, having ſecretly called in their aſſociates from the neighbouring country, they ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the arſenal and ſenate-houſe in the night-time, and running through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptized," and "Depart ye ungodly." The ſenators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more ſober citizens, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confuſion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantick multitude, conſiſting chiefly of ſtrangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or controul them, they ſet about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at firſt they ſhowed ſo much reverence for the ancient conſtitution, as to elect ſenators of their own ſect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another proſelyte conſuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the ſtyle, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was inſtant death to diſobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the churches, and deface their ornaments; he enjoined them to deſtroy all books except the Bible,

Book V. 1534.

Become maſters of that city.

February.

Eſtabliſh a new form of government.

Book V. Bible, as uſeleſs or impious; he appointed the eſtates of ſuch as fled, to be confiſcated, and ſold
1534. to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he ordered every man to bring forth his gold, ſilver, and precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amaſſed by theſe means, he depoſited in a publick treaſury, and named deacons to diſpenſe it for the common uſe of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in publick, and even preſcribed the diſhes which were to be ſerved up each day. Having finiſhed his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took meaſures for that purpoſe with a prudence which ſavoured nothing of fanaticiſm. He collected vaſt magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every perſon without diſtinction to work in his turn; he formed ſuch as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the vigour of diſcipline to the impetuoſity of enthuſiaſm. He ſent emiſſaries to the Anabaptiſts in the Low-Countries, inviting them to aſſemble at Munſter, which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that from thence they might ſet out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himſelf was unwearied in attending to every thing neceſſary for the ſecurity or increaſe of the ſect; animating his diſciples by his own example to refuſe no labour, as well as to repine at no hardſhip; and their enthuſiaſtic paſſions being kept from ſubſiding by a perpetual ſucceſſion of exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they ſeemed ready to undertake or to ſuffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

While

1534.

WHILE they were thus employed, the biſhop of Munſter having aſſembled a conſiderable army, advanced to beſiege the town. On his approach, Matthias ſallied out at the head of ſome choſen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great ſlaughter, returned to the city loaded with glory and ſpoil. Intoxicated with this ſucceſs, he appeared next day brandiſhing a ſpear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and ſmite the hoſt of the ungodly. Thirty perſons, whom he named, followed him without heſitation in this wild enterprize, and ruſhing on the enemy with a frantick courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occaſioned at firſt great conſternation among his diſciples, but Boccold, by the ſame gifts and pretenſions which had gained Matthias credit, ſoon revived their ſpirits and hopes to ſuch a degree, that he ſucceeded him in the ſame abſolute direction of all their affairs. As he did not poſſeſs that enterprizing courage which diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor, he ſatisfied himſelf with carrying on a defenſive war, and without attempting to annoy the enemy by ſallies, he waited for the ſuccours he expected from the Low-Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promiſed by their prophets. But though leſs daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthuſiaſt, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predeceſſor, having, by obſcure viſions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for ſome extraordinary event, he ſtripped himſelf naked, and marching through the ſtreets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was higheſt on the earth ſhould be brought low, and whatever was loweſt ſhould be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as

The biſhop of Munſter takes arms againſt them.

May.

John of Leyden acquires great authority among the Anabaptiſts.

Book V. 1534. as the moſt lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the ſenators choſen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the conſulſhip, the higheſt office in the commonwealth, he appointed him to execute the loweſt and moſt infamous, that of common hangman, to which ſtrange tranſition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmoſt joy; and ſuch was the deſpotick rigour of Boccold's adminiſtration, that he was called almoſt every day to perform ſome duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the depoſed ſenators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Iſrael, to preſide in all affairs; retaining to himſelf the ſame authority which Moſes anciently poſſeſſed as legiſlator of that people.

Elected King. Not ſatisfied, however, with power or titles which were not ſupreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold ſhould be King of Sion,

June 24. and ſit on the throne of David. John, kneeling down, accepted of the heavenly call, which he ſolemnly proteſted had been revealed likewiſe to himſelf, and was immediately acknowledged as Monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he aſſumed all the ſtate and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked ſword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in publick. He coined money ſtamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his houſehold and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former ſubmiſſion.

Having

1534.

His licentious tenets and conduct.

HAVING now attained the height of power, Boccold began to diſcover paſſions, which he had hitherto reſtrained or indulged only in ſecret. As the exceſſes of enthuſiaſm have been obſerved in every age to lead to ſenſual gratifications, the ſame conſtitution that is ſuſceptible of the former, being remarkably prone to the latter, he inſtructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for ſeveral days concerning the lawfulneſs, and even neceſſity of taking more wives than one, which they aſſerted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the ſaints. When their ears were once accuſtomed to this licentious doctrine, and their paſſions inflamed with the proſpect of ſuch unbounded indulgence, he himſelf ſet them an example of uſing what he called their Chriſtian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among which the widow of Matthias, a woman of ſingular beauty, was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of Queen, or who ſhared with him the ſplendor and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themſelves up to the moſt licentious and uncontrouled gratification of their deſires. No man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. Not to uſe their Chriſtian liberty was deemed a crime. Perſons were appointed to ſearch the houſes for young women grown up to maturity, whom they inſtantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inſeparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new ſource of corruption. Every exceſs was committed of which the paſſions of men are capable, when reſtrained neither by the authority

of

Book V. 1534. of laws nor the ſenſe of decency[m]; and by a monſtrous and almoſt incredible conjunction, voluptuouſneſs was engrafted on religion, and diſſolute riot accompanied the auſterities of fanatical devotion.

A confederacy againſt the Anabaptiſts.

MEANWHILE, the German princes were highly offended at the inſult offered to their dignity by Boccold's preſumptuous uſurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Chriſtian name, filled men of all profeſſions with horror. Luther, who had teſtified againſt this fanatical ſpirit on its firſt appearance, now deeply lamented its progreſs, and expoſing the deluſion with great ſtrength of argument, as well as acrimony of ſtyle, called loudly on all the ſtates of Germany to put a ſtop to a phrenzy no leſs pernicious to ſociety, than fatal to religion. The Emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leiſure to attend to ſuch a diſtant object. But the princes of the Empire, aſſembled by the King of the Romans, voted a ſupply of men and money to the biſhop of Munſter, who being unable to keep a ſufficient army on foot, had converted the ſiege of the town into a blockade.

Beſiege the town.

[m] Prophetæ & concionatorum autoritate juxta et exemplo, totâ urbe ad rapiendas pulcherrimas quaſque fæminas diſcurſum eſt. Nec intra paucos dies, in tanta hominum turbâ fere ulla reperta eſt ſupra annum decimum quartum, quæ ſtuprum paſſa non fuerit. Lamb. Hortenſ. p. 303. Vulgò viris quinas eſſe uxores, pluribus ſenas, nonnullis ſeptenas & octonas. Puellas ſupra duodecimum ætatis annum ſtatim amare. Id. 305. Nemo una contentis fuit, neque cuiquam extra effætas & viris immaturas continenti eſſe licuit. Id. 307. Tacebo hîc, ut ſit ſuus honor auribus, quanta barbarie et malitia uſi ſunt in puellis vitiandis nondum aptis matrimonio, id quod mihi neque ex vano, neque ex vulgi ſermonibus hauſtum eſt, ſed ex ea vetula, cui cura ſic vitiatarum demandata fuit, auditum. Joh. Corvinus, 316.

a blockade. The forces raiſed in conſequence of this reſolution, were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the the town towards the end of ſpring in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, preſſed it more cloſely than formerly; but found the fortifications ſo ſtrong, and ſo diligently guarded, that he durſt not attempt an aſſault. It was now above fifteen months ſince the Anabaptiſts had eſtabliſhed their dominion in Munſter; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty. Notwithſtanding the prudent attention of their king to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and his frugal as well as regular œconomy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several ſmall bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their aſſiſtance from the Low-Countries, had been intercepted, and cut to pieces; and while all Germany was ready to combine againſt them, they had no proſpect of ſuccour. But ſuch was the aſcendant which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and ſo powerful the faſcination of enthuſiaſm, that their hopes were as ſanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the viſions and predictions of their prophets, who aſſured them, that the Almighty would ſpeedily interpoſe, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of ſome few, ſhaken by the violence and length of their ſufferings, began to fail; but being ſuſpected of an inclination to ſurrender to the enemy, they were puniſhed with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in diſtruſting the power of God. One of the King's wives, having uttered certain words which implied ſome doubt concerning his divine miſſion, he inſtantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blaſphemer, as he

May. Diſtreſs and fanaticiſm of the beſieged.

Book V. 1535. he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and ſo far were the reſt from expreſſing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantick joy around the bleeding body of their companion.

The city taken. June 1. By this time, the beſieged endured the utmoſt rigour of famine; but they choſe rather to ſuffer hardſhips, the recital of which is ſhocking to humanity, than to liſten to the terms of capitulation offered them by the biſhop. At laſt, a deſerter, whom they had taken into their ſervice, being either leſs intoxicated with the fumes of enthuſiaſm, or unable any longer to bear ſuch diſtreſs, made his eſcape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had obſerved, and aſſuring him that the beſieged, exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The propoſal was accepted, and a choſen body of troops appointed for the ſervice; who, ſcaling the walls unperceived, ſeized one of the gates, and admitted the reſt of the army. The Anabaptiſts, though ſurprized, defended themſelves in the market-place with valour, heightened by deſpair; but being overpowered by numbers, and ſurrounded on every hand, moſt of them were ſlain, and the remainder taken priſoners. Among the laſt were the King and Cnipperdoling. The King, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a ſpectacle to gratify the curioſity of the people, and was expoſed to all their inſults. His ſpirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this ſad reverſe of his condition; and he adhered with unſhaken firmneſs to the diſtinguiſhing tenets

June 24.

Puniſhment of the King and his aſſociates.

tenets of his ſect. After this he was brought back to Munſter, the ſcene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the moſt exquiſite as well lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire ſuch amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions ſo dangerous to ſociety, was only twenty-ſix years of age [n].

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Together with its Monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptiſts came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low Countries, the party ſtill ſubſiſts there, under the name of Mennonites; but by a very ſingular revolution, this ſect, ſo mutinous and ſanguinary at its firſt origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacifick. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themſelves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their induſtry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human ſociety for the violence committed by their founders [o]. A ſmall number of this ſect which is ſettled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptiſm, but without any dangerous mixture of enthuſiaſm.

Character of the ſect ſince that period.

[n] Sleid. 190, &c. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum Liber unus. Ant. Lamberto Hortenſio auctore ap. Scardium, vol. ii. p. 298, &c. De Miſerabili Monaſterienſium obſidione, &c. libellus Antonii Corvini ap. Scard. 313. Annales Anabaptiſtici a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Baſileæ, 1672. Cor. Heerſbachius Hiſt. Anab. Edit. 1637. p. 140.

[o] Bayle Diction. Art. *Anabaptiſtes.*

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1535. Proceedings and authority of the league of Smalkalde.

The mutiny of the Anabaptiſts, though it drew general attention, did not ſo entirely engroſs the princes of Germany, as not to allow leiſure for other tranſactions. The alliance between the French King and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, on account of his violent and oppreſſive adminiſtration, the houſe of Auſtria had got poſſeſſion of his duchy. That prince having now by a long exile atoned for the errors in his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical diſpoſition, was become the object of general compaſſion. The Landgrave of Heſſe, in particular, his near relation, warmly eſpouſed his intereſt, and uſed many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obſtinately refuſed to relinquiſh a valuable acquiſition which his family had made with ſo much eaſe. The Landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the King of France, his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of diſtreſſing the houſe of Auſtria, and deſirous of wreſting from it a territory, which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a diſtance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and ſecretly ſupplied him with a large ſum of money. This he employed to raiſe troops, and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and diſperſed a conſiderable body of Auſtrians, entruſted with the defence of the country. All the Duke's ſubjects haſtened, with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and re-inveſted him with that authority which is ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendants. At the

the ſame time the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed in his dominions [p]. Book V. 1535.

FERDINAND, how ſenſible ſoever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince whom all the Proteſtant powers in Germany were ready to ſupport, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the moſt ample form, he recognized his title to the duchy. The ſucceſs of the Landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemberg, having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league ſo formidable as that of Smalkalde was to be avoided with the utmoſt care, he entered likewiſe into a negociation with the Elector of Saxony, the head of that union, and by ſome conceſſions in favour of the Proteſtant religion, and others of advantage to the Elector himſelf, he prevailed on him, together with his confederates, to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans. At the ſame time, in order to prevent any ſuch precipitate or irregular election in times to come, it was agreed that no perſon ſhould hereafter be promoted to that dignity without the unanimous conſent of the Electors; and the Emperor ſoon after confirmed this ſtipulation [q]. The King of the Romans courts them.

THESE acts of indulgence towards the Proteſtants, and the cloſe union into which the King of the Romans ſeemed to be entering with the Princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III. though he had departed from a reſolution of his predeceſſor, never to conſent to the calling of a general council, and had promiſed, Paul III. calls a general council to meet at Mantua.

[p] Sleid 172. Bellay, 159, &c. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. p. 2. 119.

[q] Sleid. 173.

Book V. miſed, in the firſt conſiſtory held after his election, that he would convoke that aſſembly, ſo much deſired by all Chriſtendom, was no leſs enraged than Clement at the innovations in Germany, and no leſs averſe to any ſcheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuſes in the court of Rome: But having been a witneſs of the univerſal cenſure which Clement had incurred by his obſtinacy with regard to theſe points, he hoped to avoid the ſame reproach by the ſeeming alacrity with which he propoſed a council; flattering himſelf, however, that ſuch difficulties would ariſe concerning the time and place of meeting, the perſons who had a right to be preſent, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of thoſe who demanded that aſſembly, without expoſing himſelf to any imputation for refuſing to call it. With this view he diſpatched nuncios to the ſeveral courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold the council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreſeen, immediately preſented themſelves in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had choſen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would neceſſarily be too great in a town ſituated in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refuſed, beſides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the Pope. The

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Dec. 12. German Proteſtants having met together at Smalkalde, inſiſted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the Emperor's promiſe, as well as the agreement at Ratiſbon to that effect, declared that they would not conſider an aſſembly held at Mantua

as

as a legal or free repreſentative of the church. By this diverſity of ſentiments and views, ſuch a field for intrigue and negociation opened, as made it eaſy for the Pope to aſſume the merit of being eager to aſſemble a council, while at the ſame time he could put off its meeting at pleaſure. The Proteſtants, on the other hand, ſuſpecting his deſigns, and ſenſible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became ſtronger and more formidable by the acceſſion of ſeveral new members[r].

The Emperor's expedition to Africa, and ſtate of that country.

During theſe tranſactions in Germany, the Emperor undertook his famous enterprize againſt the piratical ſtates in Africa. That part of the African continent lying along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Maſſylia, together with the republick of Carthage, and which is now known by the general name of Barbary, had undergone many revolutions. Subdued by the Romans, it became a province of their empire.

[r] This league was concluded December, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, but not extended or ſigned in form till September in the following year. The Princes who acceded to it were John Elector of Saxony, Erneſt Duke of Brunſwick, Philip Landgrave of Heſſe, Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, Barnim and Philip Dukes of Pomerania, John George, and Joachim Princes of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Counts of Mansfield, William Count of Naſſau. The cities, Straſburg, Nuremburg, Conſtance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Hailbron, Memmengen, Lindaw, Campen, Iſna, Bibrac, Winſheim, Auſburg, Francfort, Eſſling, Brunſwick, Goſlar, Hanover, Gottingen, Eimbeck, Hamburg, Minden.

Book V. 1535. empire. Conquered afterwards by the Vandals, they erected a kingdom there. That being overturned by Beliſarius, the country continued ſubject to the Greek Emperors, until it was overrun, towards the end of the ſeventh century, by the rapid and irreſiſtible arms of the Arabs. It remained for ſome time a part of that vaſt empire which the Caliphs governed with abſolute authority. Its immenſe diſtance, however, from the ſeat of government, encouraged the deſcendants of thoſe leaders, who had ſubdued the country, or the chiefs of the Moors, its ancient inhabitants, to throw off the yoke, and to ſet up for independence. The Caliphs, who derived their authority from a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, more fitted for making conqueſts than for preſerving them, were obliged to connive at acts of rebellion which they could not prevent; and Barbary was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, were the moſt conſiderable. The inhabitants of theſe kingdoms were a mixed race, Arabs, Negroes from the ſouthern provinces, and Moors, either natives of Africa, or who had been expelled out of Spain; all zealous profeſſors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed againſt Chriſtianity with a bigotted hatred proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners.

Riſe of the piratical ſtates.

Among theſe people, no leſs daring, inconſtant, and treacherous, than the ancient inhabitants of the ſame country deſcribed by the Roman hiſtorians, frequent ſeditions broke out, and many changes in government took place. Theſe, as they affected only the internal ſtate of a country ſo barbarous, are but little known, and deſerve to be ſo: But about the beginning of the ſixteenth century a ſudden revolution happened, which,

which, by rendering the ſtates of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, hath made their hiſtory worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by perſons born in a rank of life which entitled them to act no ſuch illuſtrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the ſons of a potter in the iſle of Leſbos, prompted by a reſtleſs and enterprizing ſpirit, forſook their father's trade, ran to ſea, and joined a crew of pirates. They ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour and activity; and becoming maſters of a ſmall brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with ſuch conduct and ſucceſs, that they aſſembled a fleet of twelve gallies, beſides many veſſels of ſmaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbaroſſa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin ſecond in command, but with almoſt equal authority. They called themſelves the friends of the ſea, and the enemies of all who ſail upon it; and their names ſoon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanels to thoſe of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views extended; and while acting as corſairs, they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coaſts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and, enriching the inhabitants by the ſale of their booty, and the thoughtleſs prodigality of their crews, were welcome gueſts in every place at which they touched. The convenient ſituation of theſe harbours, lying ſo near the greateſt commercial ſtates at that time in Chriſtendom, made the brothers wiſh for an eſtabliſhment in that country. An opportunity of accompliſhing this quickly preſented itſelf, which they did not ſuffer to paſs unimproved. Eutemi, King of Algiers, having attempted

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attempted ſeveral times, without ſucceſs, to take a fort which the Spaniſh governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was ſo ill adviſed as to apply for aid to Barbaroſſa, whoſe valour the Africans conſidered as irreſiſtible. The active Corſair gladly accepted of the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thouſand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and as he perceived that the Moors neither ſuſpected him of any bad intention, nor were capable, with their light-armed troops, of oppoſing his diſciplined veterans, he ſecretly murdered the monarch whom he had come to aſſiſt, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Algiers in his ſtead. The authority which he had thus boldly uſurped, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh by arts ſuited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to thoſe who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no leſs unbounded towards all whom he had any reaſon to diſtruſt. Not ſatisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring King of Tremecen, and having vanquiſhed him in battle, added his dominions to thoſe of Algiers. At the ſame time, he continued to infeſt the coaſts of Spain and Italy with fleets which reſembled the armaments of a great Monarch, rather than the light ſquadrons of a Corſair. The devaſtations which theſe committed, obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furniſh the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops ſufficient to attack him. That officer, aſſiſted by the dethroned king of Tremecen, executed the commiſſion with ſuch ſpirit, that Barbaroſſa's troops being beat in ſeveral encounters, he himſelf

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Horuc, the elder brother, becomes maſter of Algiers.

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ſelf was ſhut up in Tremecen. After defending it to the laſt extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his eſcape, and ſlain while he fought with an obſtinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

The progreſs of Hayradin, the ſecond brother.

His brother Hayradin, known likewiſe by the name of Barbaroſſa, aſſumed the ſceptre of Algiers, with the ſame ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undiſturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated, with admirable prudence, the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conqueſts on the continent of Africa. But perceiving that the Moors and Arabs ſubmitted to his government with the utmoſt reluctance, and being afraid that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Chriſtians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkiſh ſoldiers ſufficient for his ſecurity againſt his domeſtick as well as his foreign enemies. At laſt, the fame of his exploits daily increaſing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkiſh fleet, as the only perſon whoſe valour and ſkill in naval affairs entitled him to command againſt Andrew Doria, the greateſt ſea-officer of that age. Proud of this diſtinction, Barbaroſſa repaired to Conſtantinople, and with a wonderful verſatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldneſs of a Corſair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a ſcheme which he had formed of making himſelf maſter of Tunis, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom, at that time, on the coaſt of Africa; and this being

Puts his dominions under the protection of the Sultan.

Book V. ing approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

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His ſcheme for conquering Tunis.

His hopes of ſucceſs in this undertaking were founded on the inteſtine diviſions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the laſt King of that country, having thirty-four ſons by different wives, named Muley-Haſcen, one of the youngeſt among them, his ſucceſſor. That weak Prince, who owed this preference not to his own merit, but to the aſcendant which his mother had acquired over a Monarch doating with age, firſt poiſoned Mahmed his father, in order to prevent him from altering his deſtination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of ſucceſſion is not preciſely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraſchid, one of the eldeſt, was ſo fortunate as to eſcape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made ſeveral attempts, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But theſe proving unſucceſsful, and the Arabs, from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his mercileſs brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbaroſſa, who, diſcerning at once all the advantages which might be gained by ſupporting his title, received him with every poſſible demonſtration of friendſhip and reſpect. Being ready, at that time, to ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, he eaſily perſuaded Alraſchid, whoſe eagerneſs to obtain a crown diſpoſed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither, promiſing him effectual aſſiſtance from Solyman, whom he repreſented to be the moſt generous, as well as moſt powerful,

ful, Monarch in the world. But no ſooner were they arrived at Conſtantinople, than the falſe Corſair, regardleſs of all his promiſes to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkiſh empire, by making uſe of the name of this exiled Prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved, with too much facility, of this perfidious propoſal, extremely ſuitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great Prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were ſoon aſſembled; at the ſight of which the credulous Alraſchid flattered himſelf, that he would ſoon enter his capital in triumph.

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But juſt as this unhappy Prince was going to embark, he was arreſted by order of the Sultan, ſhut up in the ſeraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty veſſels towards Africa. After ravaging the coaſts of Italy, and ſpreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to aſſert the right of Alraſchid, whom he pretended to have left ſick aboard the Admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, ſoon fell into his hands, partly by his own addreſs, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Haſcen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraſchid with ſuch zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly ſo precipitately, that he left all his treaſures behind him. The gates were immediately ſet open to Barbaroſſa, as the reſtorer of their lawful ſovereign. But when Alraſchid himſelf did not appear, and when inſtead of his name, that of Solyman

Its ſucceſs.

Book V. 1535. Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkiſh ſoldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to ſuſpect the Corſair's treachery. Their ſuſpicions being ſoon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and ſurrounded the citadel, into which Barbaroſſa had led his troops. But having foreſeen ſuch a revolution, he was not unprepared for it; he immediately turned againſt them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one briſk diſcharge, diſperſed the numerous but undirected aſſailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their ſovereign, and to ſubmit to himſelf as his viceroy.

Barbaroſſa's formidable power.

His firſt care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got poſſeſſion, in a proper poſture of defence. He ſtrengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vaſt expence, made it the principal ſtation for his fleet, and his great arſenal for military as well as naval ſtores. Being now poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive territories, he carried on his depredations againſt the Chriſtian States to a greater extent, and with more deſtructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers were brought to the Emperor by his ſubjects, both in Spain and Italy. All Chriſtendom ſeemed to expect from him, as its greateſt and moſt fortunate Prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious ſpecies of oppreſſion.

The exiled King of Tunis implores the Emperor's aſſiſtance. April 21, 1535.

At the ſame time Muley-Haſcen, the exiled King of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan Princes in Africa willing or able to aſſiſt him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only perſon who could aſſert his rights in oppoſition to ſuch a formidable uſurper. The emperor,

peror, equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate Prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition against the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Hascen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become so fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occasion in person. The united strength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemish fleet carried from the ports of the Low-Country a body of German infantry[s]; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French; the Emperor himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable squadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empress's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the best appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the most skilful officers: The Pope furnished all the assistance in his power towards such a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the Infidels, equipped a squadron, which, though small, was formidable by the valour of the knights who served on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed High-Admiral of the fleet; the command of the land-forces

BOOK V. 1535.

His preparation for the expedition.

[s] Haræi Annales Brabant. i, 599.

Book V. forces under the Emperor was given to the marquis de Guaſto.

1535.

Lands in Africa.

On the ſixteenth of July, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari, and after a proſperous navigation, landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa having received early intelligence of the Emperor's immenſe armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his corſairs from their different ſtations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African Princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley-Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian Prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahommedan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant and bigotted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe, together with a vaſt body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis; and by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, Barbaroſſa kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppoſe, to think that theſe light troops could reſiſt the heavy-armed cavalry and veteran infantry which compoſed the Imperial army, his chief confidence was in the ſtrength of the Goletta, and in his body of Turkiſh ſoldiers who were armed and diſciplined after the European faſhion. Six thouſand of theſe, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the braveſt and moſt experienced of all his corſairs, he threw into that fort, which the emperor immediately inveſted.

Lays ſiege to Goletta.

inveſted. As Charles had the command of the ſea, his camp was ſo plentifully ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley-Haſcen, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee war carried on with ſuch order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his preſence, and conſidering it as meritorious to ſhed their blood in ſuch a pious cauſe, contended with each other for the poſts of honour and danger. Three ſeparate attacks were concerted; and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, having one of theſe committed to each of them, puſhed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inſpires. Sinan diſplayed reſolution and ſkill becoming the confidence which his maſter had put in him; the garriſon performed the hard ſervice on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incurſions; the breaches ſoon became ſo conſiderable towards the land, while the fleet battered thoſe parts of the fortifications which it could approach, with no leſs fury and ſucceſs, that an aſſault being given on all ſides at once, the place was taken by ſtorm. Sinan, with the remains of his garriſon, retired, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, over a ſhallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became maſter of Barbaroſſa's fleet, conſiſting of eighty-ſeven gallies and galliots, together with his arſenal, and three hundred cannon, moſtly braſs, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the ſtrength of the fort, as well as of the greatneſs of the corſair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach,

Takes it by ſtorm. July 25.

Book V. breach, and turning to Muley-Haſcen who attended him, "Here," ſays he, "is a gate open to you, by which you ſhall return to take poſſeſſion of your dominions."

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Barbarossa, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, loſe courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thouſand men [t], towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the iſſue of a battle. This reſolution he communicated to his principal officers, and repreſenting to them the fatal conſequences which might follow, if ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, whom he had ſhut up in the citadel, ſhould attempt to mutiny during the abſence of the army, he propoſed as a neceſſary precaution for the publick ſecurity, to maſſacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty, the barbarity of his propoſal concerning the ſlaves, filled them with horror; and Barbaroſſa, rather from the dread of irritating them, than ſwayed by motives of humanity, conſented to ſpare the lives of the ſlaves.

Defeats Barbaroſſa's army.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops ſuffered inconceivable hardſhips in their march, over burning ſands, deſtitute of water, and expoſed to the intolerable heat of the ſun, they ſoon

[t] Epiſtres de Princes, par Ruſcelli, p. 119, &c.

ſoon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vaſt ſuperiority in number, immediately ruſhed on to the attack with loud ſhouts; but their undiſciplined courage could not long ſtand the ſhock of regular battalions; and though Barbaroſſa, with admirable preſence of mind, and by expoſing his own perſon to the greateſt dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became ſo general, that he himſelf was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; ſome of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to ſet open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in ſuch circumſtances might have afforded him ſome refuge, already in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe unhappy men, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbaroſſa dreaded. As ſoon as his army was at ſome diſtance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whoſe aſſiſtance, knocking off their fetters, and burſting open their priſons, they overpowered the Turkiſh garriſon, and turned the artillery of the fort againſt their former maſters. Barbaroſſa, diſappointed and enraged, exclaiming ſometimes againſt the falſe compaſſion of his officers, and ſometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

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Tunis ſurrenders.

MEANWHILE Charles, ſatisfied with the eaſy and almoſt bloodleſs victory which he had gained, and advancing ſlowly with the precaution neceſſary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at laſt, a meſſenger diſpatched by

Book V. 1535. the ſlaves acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their noble effort, for the recovery of their liberty; and at the ſame time deputies arrived from the town, in order to preſent him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper meaſures for this purpoſe, the ſoldiers, fearing that they ſhould be deprived of the booty which they had expected, ruſhed ſuddenly, and without orders, into the town, and began to kill and plunder without diſtinction. It was then too late to reſtrain their cruelty, their avarice, or licentiouſneſs. All the outrages of which ſoldiers are capable in the fury of a ſtorm, all the exceſſes of which men can be guilty when their paſſions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inſpire, were committed. Above thirty thouſand of the innocent inhabitants periſhed on that unhappy day, and ten thouſand were carried away as ſlaves. Muley-Haſcen took poſſeſſion of a throne ſurrounded with carnage, abhorred by his ſubjects on whom he had brought ſuch calamities, and pitied even by thoſe whoſe raſhneſs had been the occaſion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had ſtained the luſtre of his victory; and amidſt ſuch a ſcene of horror there was but one ſpectacle that afforded him any ſatisfaction. Ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and bleſſed him as their deliverer.

Reſtores the exiled King to his throne.

At the ſame time that Charles accompliſhed his promiſe to the Mooriſh King of re-eſtabliſhing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was neceſſary for bridling the power of the African

African corſairs, for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and for the intereſt of the Spaniſh crown: In order to gain theſe ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen on the following conditions; that he ſhould hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Chriſtian ſlaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that no ſubject of the Emperor's would for the future be detained in ſervitude; that no Turkiſh corſair ſhould be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the publick exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould be allowed to all the Emperor's ſubjects; that the Emperor ſhould not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other ſea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified ſhould be put into his hands; that Muley-Haſcen ſhould pay annually twelve thouſand crowns for the ſubſiſtence of the Spaniſh garriſon in the Goletta; that he ſhould enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies; and ſhould preſent to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vaſſalage, ſix Mooriſh horſes, and as many hawks [u]. Having thus ſettled the affairs of Africa; chaſtiſed the inſolence of the corſairs; ſecured a ſafe retreat for the ſhips of his ſubjects, and a proper ſtation for his own fleets, on that coaſt from which he was moſt infeſted by piratical depredations; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempeſtuous weather, and ſickneſs among his troops, not permitting him to purſue Barbaroſſa [x].

Book V. 1535. Aug. 17.

[u] Du Monts Corps Diplomat. ii. 128. Summonte Hiſt. di Napoli, iv. 89.

[x] Joh. Etropii Diarium Expedition. Tunetanæ ap. Scard. v. ii. p. 320, &c. Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxiv. 153, &c. Sandov.

Book V.

1535. The glory which the Emperor acquired.

By this expedition, the merit of which ſeems to have been eſtimated in that age, rather by the apparent generoſity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the ſucceſs which crowned it, than by the importance of the conſequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thouſand ſlaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley-Haſcen [y], each of whom he cloathed and furniſhed with the means of returning to their reſpective countries, ſpread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In compariſon with him, the other Monarchs of Europe made an inconſiderable figure. They ſeemed to be ſolicitous about nothing but their private and particular intereſts; while Charles, with an elevation of ſentiment, which became the chief Prince in Chriſtendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Chriſtian name, and attentive to the public ſecurity and welfare.

Sandov. ii. 154, &c. Vertot Hiſt de Cheval. de Malthe. Epiſtres des Princes, par Ruſcelli, traduites par Belleforeſt, p. 119, 120, &c. Anton. Pontii Conſentini Hiſt. Belli adv. Barbar. ap. Matthæi Analecta.

[y] Summonte Hiſt. de Nap. vol. iv. p. 103.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VI.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his contemporaries, his conduct, at this juncture, appeared a perfect contraſt to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him, by the Emperor's having turned his whole force againſt the common enemy, to revive his pretenſions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. The treaty of Cambray, as has been obſerved, did not remove the cauſes of enmity between the two contending Princes; it covered up, but did not extinguiſh the flames of diſcord. Francis, in particular, who waited with impatience for a proper occaſion of recovering the reputation as well as territories which he had loſt, continued to carry on his negociations in different courts againſt the Emperor, taking the utmoſt pains to heighten the jealouſy which many Princes entertained

1537. The cauſes of a new war between the Emperor and Francis.

Book VI. tertained of his power or deſigns, and to inſpire the reſt with the ſame ſuſpicion and fear: Among
1535. others, he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted to Charles for the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Milan, had received it on ſuch hard conditions, as rendered him not only a vaſſal of the Empire, but a tributary dependant upon the Emperor. The honour of having married the Emperor's niece, did not reconcile him to this ignominious ſtate of ſubjection, which became ſo intolerable even to Sforza, a weak and poor-ſpirited Prince, that he liſtened with eagerneſs to the firſt propoſals Francis made of reſcuing him from the yoke. Theſe propoſals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French hiſtorians, a Milaneſe gentleman reſiding at Paris; and ſoon after, in order to carry on the negociation with greater advantage, Merveille was ſent to Milan, on pretence of viſiting his relations, but with ſecret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithſtanding his care to keep that circumſtance concealed, Charles ſuſpecting, or having received information of it, remonſtrated and threatened in ſuch an high tone, that the Duke and his miniſters, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a moſt infamous proof of their ſervile fear of offending the Emperor. As Merveille had neither the prudence nor the temper which the function wherein he was employed required, they artfully decoyed him into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his an-
Dec. 1533. tagoniſt, one of the Duke's domeſticks, and having inſtantly ſeized him, they ordered him to be tried for that crime, and to be beheaded. Francis, no leſs aſtoniſhed at this violation of a character held ſacred among the moſt uncivilized nations,

tions, than enraged at the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the Emperor, whom he conſidered as the real author of that unexampled outrage. But meeting with no ſatisfaction from either, he appealed to all the Princes of Europe, and thought himſelf now entitled to take vengeance for an injury, which it would have been indecent and puſillanimous to let paſs with impunity. BOOK VI. 1535.

Francis deſtitute of allies.

BEING thus furniſhed with a pretext for beginning a war, on which he had already reſolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other Princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his meaſures for this purpoſe were diſconcerted by unforeſeen events. After having ſacrificed the honour of his houſe by the marriage of his ſon with Catharine of Medici, in order to gain Clement, the death of that Pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendſhip. Paul, his ſucceſſor, though attached by inclination to the Imperial intereſt, ſeemed determined to maintain the neutrality ſuitable to his character as the common father of the contending Princes. The King of England, occupied with domeſtick cares and projects, declined, for once, engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refuſed to aſſiſt Francis, unleſs he would imitate his example, in throwing off the Papal ſupremacy. Theſe diſappointments led him to ſolicit, with greater earneſtneſs, the aid of the Proteſtant Princes aſſociated by the league of Smalkalde. That he might the more eaſily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himſelf to their predominant paſſion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard

His negociations with the German Proteſtants.

to

Book VI. 1535. to the points in diſpute; he permitted Bellay, his envoy in Germany, to explain his ſentiments concerning ſome of the moſt important articles, in terms not far different from thoſe uſed by the Proteſtants [a]; he even condeſcended to invite Melancthon, whoſe gentle manners and pacific ſpirit diſtinguiſhed him among the Reformers, to viſit Paris, that by his aſſiſtance he might concert the moſt proper meaſures for reconciling the contending ſects, which ſo unhappily divided the church [b]. Theſe conceſſions muſt be conſidered rather as arts of policy, than the reſult of conviction; for whatever impreſſion the new opinions in religion had made on his ſiſters, the Queen of Navarre and Dutcheſs of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleaſure, allowed him little leiſure to examine theological controverſies.

Irritates them.

But ſoon after he loſt all the fruits of this diſingenuous artifice, by a ſtep very inconſiſtent with his declarations to the German Princes. This ſtep, however, the prejudices of the age, and the religious ſentiments of his own ſubjects, rendered it neceſſary for him to take. His cloſe union with the King of England, an excommunicated heretick; his frequent negociations with the German Proteſtants; but above all, his giving publick audience to an envoy from Sultan Solyman, had excited violent ſuſpicions concerning the ſincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the Emperor, who on all occaſions, made high pretenſions to zeal in defence of the Catholick faith, and at the very juncture

[a] Freheri Script. Rer. German. iii. 354, &c. Sleid. Hiſt. 178, 183. Seckend. lib. iii. 103.

[b] Camerarii Vita Ph. Melancthonis, 12°. Hag. 1655. p. 12.

juncture when he was preparing for his expedition againſt Barbaroſſa, which was then conſidered as a pious enterprize, could not have failed to confirm ſuch unfavourable ſentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himſelf by ſome extraordinary demonſtration of his reverence for the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church. The indiſcreet zeal of ſome of his ſubjects, who had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions, furniſhed him with ſuch an occaſion as he deſired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popiſh church. Six of the perſons concerned in this raſh action were diſcovered and ſeized. The King, in order to avert the judgments which it was ſuppoſed their blaſphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a ſolemn proceſſion. The holy ſacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood ſupported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the preſence of this numerous aſſembly, the King, accuſtomed to expreſs himſelf on every ſubject in ſtrong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with hereſy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not ſpare even his own children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earneſt, the ſix unhappy perſons were publickly burnt before the proceſſion was finiſhed, with circumſtances of the moſt ſhocking barbarity attending their execution [c].

THE

[c] Belcarii Comment. Rer. Gallic, 646. Sleid. Hiſt. 175, &c.

Book VI.

1536.

They refuse to join him.

The Princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protest in Germany those very tenets, which he persecuted with such rigour in his own dominions; so that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his master, or apologizing for his conduct, made but little impression upon them. They considered likewise, that the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence against the doctrines of the Reformers, nor even given them much molestation in their progress, was now bound by the agreement at Ratisbon, not to disturb such as had embraced the new opinions; and the Protestants wisely regarded this as a more certain and immediate security, than the precarious and distant hopes with which Francis endeavoured to allure them. Besides, the manner in which he had behaved to his allies at the peace of Cambray, was too recent to be forgotten, and did not encourage others to rely much on his friendship or generosity. Upon all these accounts, the Protestant Princes refused to assist the French King in any hostile attempt against the Emperor. The Elector of Saxony, the most zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to visit the court of France, although that Reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of so great a monarch, or hoping that his presence there might be of signal advantage to the Protestant cause, discovered a strong inclination to undertake the journey [d].

The French army advances towards Italy.

But though none of the many princes who envied or dreaded the power of Charles, would second

[d] Camerarii Vita Melan. 142, &c. 415. Seckend. lib. iii. 107.

ſecond Francis's efforts in order to reduce and circumſcribe it, he, nevertheleſs, commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy. As his ſole pretext for taking arms was that he might chaſtiſe the Duke of Milan for his inſolent and cruel breach of the law of nations, it might have been expected that the whole weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on his territories. But on a ſudden, and at their very commencement, the operations of war took another direction. Charles Duke of Savoy, one of the leaſt active and able Princes of the line from which he deſcended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the Empreſs's ſiſter. By her great talents, ſhe ſoon acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her huſband; and proud of her affinity to the Emperor, or allured by the magnificent promiſes with which he flattered her ambition, ſhe formed an union between the Duke and the Imperial court, extremely inconſiſtent with that neutrality, which wiſe policy as well as the ſituation of his dominions had hitherto induced him to obſerve in all the quarrels between the contending Monarchs. Francis was abundantly ſenſible of the diſtreſs to which he might be expoſed, if, when he entered Italy, he ſhould leave behind him the territories of a Prince, devoted ſo obſequiouſly to the Emperor, that he had ſent his eldeſt ſon to be educated in the court of Spain, as a kind of hoſtage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had repreſented this danger in a ſtrong light during his interview with Francis at Marſeilles, ſuggeſted to him, at the ſame time, the proper method of guarding againſt it, having adviſed him to begin his operations againſt the Milaneſe, by taking poſſeſſion of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of ſecuring a communication with his own dominions.

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minions. Francis, highly irritated at the Duke on many accounts, particularly for having ſupplied the Conſtable Bourbon with the money that enabled him to levy the body of troops which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he reſented, and how ſeverely he could puniſh theſe injuries. Nor did he want ſeveral pretexts which gave ſome colour of equity to the violence that he intended. The territories of France and Savoy lying contiguous to each other, and intermingled in many places, various diſputes, unavoidable in ſuch a ſituation, ſubſiſted concerning the limits of their reſpective property; and beſides, Francis, in right of his mother Louiſe of Savoy, had large claims upon the Duke her brother, for her ſhare in their father's ſucceſſion. Being unwilling, however, to begin hoſtilities without ſome cauſe of quarrel more ſpecious than theſe pretenſions, many of which were obſolete, and others dubious, he demanded permiſſion to march through Piedmont in his way to the Milaneſe, hoping that the Duke, from an exceſs of attachment to the Imperial intereſt, might refuſe this requeſt, and thus give a greater appearance of juſtice to all his operations againſt him. But, if we may believe the hiſtorians of Savoy, who appear to be better informed with regard to this particular than thoſe of France, the Duke readily, and with a good grace, granted what it was not in his power to deny, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops as was deſired; ſo that Francis, as the only method now left of juſtifying the meaſures which he determined to take, was obliged to inſiſt for full ſatisfaction with regard to every thing that either the crown of France or his mother Louiſe could demand of the houſe

1535. Takes poſſeſſion of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

of

of Savoy [e]. Such an evaſive anſwer, as might have been expected, being made to this requiſition, the French army under the admiral Brion poured at once into the Duke's territories at different places. The countries of Breſſe and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were overrun in a moment. Moſt of the towns in the dutchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make reſiſtance were eaſily forced; and before the end of the campaign, the Duke ſaw himſelf ſtripped of all his dominions, but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended. Book VI. 1535.

The city of Geneva recovers its liberty.

To complete the Duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the ſovereignty of which he claimed, and in ſome degree poſſeſſed, threw off his yoke; and its revolt drew along with it the loſs of the adjacent territories. Geneva was, at that time, an Imperial city; and though under the direct dominion of its own biſhops, and the remote ſovereignty of the Dukes of Savoy, the form of its internal conſtitution was purely republican, being governed by ſyndics and a council choſen by the citizens. From theſe diſtinct and often claſhing juriſdictions, two oppoſite parties took their riſe, and had long ſubſiſted in the ſtate; the one, compoſed of the advocates for the privileges of the community, aſſumed the name of *Eignotz*, or confederates in defence of liberty; and branded the other, which ſupported the epiſcopal or ducal prerogatives, with the name of *Mammelukes* or ſlaves. At length, the Proteſtant opinions beginning to ſpread among the citizens, inſpired ſuch as embraced them with that bold enter- 1532.

[e] Hiſtoire Genealogique de Savoye, par Guichenon, 2 tom. fol. Lyon. 1660, i. 639, &c.

Book VI. enterprizing ſpirit which always accompanied or was naturally produced by them in their firſt operations. As both the Duke and Biſhop were from intereſt, from prejudice, and from political conſiderations, violent enemies of the Reformation, all the new converts joined with warmth the party of the Eignotz; and zeal for religion, mingling with the love of liberty, added ſtrength to that generous paſſion. The rage and animoſity of two factions, ſhut up within the ſame walls, occaſioned frequent inſurrections, which terminating moſtly to the advantage of the friends of liberty, they daily gained ground.

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The Duke and Biſhop, forgetting their ancient conteſts about juriſdiction, had united againſt their common enemies, and each attacked them with his proper weapons. The Biſhop excommunicated the people of Geneva as guilty of a double crime; of impiety, in apoſtatizing from the eſtabliſhed religion; and of ſacrilege, in invading the rights of his ſee. The Duke attacked them as rebels againſt their lawful Prince, and attempted to render himſelf maſter of the city, firſt by ſurprize, and then by open force. The citizens, deſpiſing the thunder of the Biſhop's cenſures, boldly aſſerted their independence againſt the Duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful aſſiſtance which they received from their allies, the canton of Berne, together with ſome ſmall ſupplies both of men and money, ſecretly furniſhed by the King of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not ſatisfied with having repulſed him, or with remaining always upon the defenſive themſelves, they now took advantage of the duke's inability to reſiſt them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and ſeized ſeveral caſtles and places

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places of ſtrength which he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from thoſe odious monuments of its former ſubjection, and rendering the publick liberty more ſecure for the future. At the ſame time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Paijs de Vaud, to which it had ſome pretenſions. The canton of Friburgh, though zealouſly attached to the Catholick religion, and having no ſubject of conteſt with the Duke, laid hold on part of the ſpoils of that unfortunate Prince. A great portion of theſe conqueſts or uſurpations being ſtill retained by the two cantons, add conſiderably to their power, and have become the moſt valuable part of their territories. Geneva, notwithſtanding many ſchemes and enterprizes of the Dukes of Savoy to re-eſtabliſh their dominion there, ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of its independence; and in conſequence of that bleſſing, has attained a degree of conſideration, wealth and elegance, which it could not otherwiſe have reached [f].

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AMIDST ſuch a ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events, the Duke of Savoy had no other reſource but the Emperor's protection, which, upon his return from Tunis, he demanded with the moſt earneſt importunity; and as his misfortunes were occaſioned chiefly by his attachment to the Imperial intereſt, he had a juſt title to immediate aſſiſtance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to ſupport him with that vigour and diſpatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Moſt of the troops employed in the African

The Emperor unable to aſſiſt the Duke of Savoy.

[f] Hiſt. de la Ville de Geneve, par Spon. 12°. Utr. 1685. p. 99. Hiſt. de la Reformation de Suiſſe, par Rouchat, Gen. 1728. tom. iv. p. 294, &c. tom. v. p. 216, &c. Mem. de Bellay, 181.

Book VI. can expedition, having been raiſed for that ſervice alone, were diſbanded as ſoon as it was finiſhed; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were hardly ſufficient for the defence of the Milaneſe; and the Emperor's treaſury was entirely drained by his vaſt efforts againſt the Infidels.

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Oct. 24. Death of Sforza Duke of Milan.

But the death of Francis Sforza, occaſioned, according to ſome hiſtorians, by the terror of a French invaſion, which had twice been fatal to his family, afforded the Emperor full leiſure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event, the nature of the war, and the cauſes of diſcord, were totally changed. Francis's firſt pretext for taking arms, in order to chaſtiſe Sforza for the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off; but as that Prince died without iſſue, all Francis's rights to the dutchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his poſterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milaneſe was the favourite object of that Monarch, he inſtantly renewed his claim to it; and if he had ſupported his pretenſions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance, without loſing a moment, towards Milan, he could hardly have failed to ſecure the important point of poſſeſſion. But Francis, who became daily leſs enterprizing as he advanced in years, and who was overawed at ſome times into an exceſs of caution by the remembrance of his paſt misfortunes, endeavoured to eſtabliſh his rights by negociation, not by arms; and from a timid moderation, fatal in all great affairs, neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf. Charles was more deciſive in his operations, and in quality of ſovereign, took poſſeſſion of the dutchy, as a vacant fief of the Empire.

Francis's pretenſions to that dutchy.

pire. While Francis endeavoured to explain and assert his title to it, by arguments and memorials, or employed various arts in order to reconcile the Italian powers to the thoughts of his regaining footing in Italy, his rival was silently taking effectual steps to prevent it. The Emperor, however, was very careful not to discover too early any intention of this kind; but seeming to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he appeared solicitous only about giving him possession in such a mannner as might not disturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, which the politicians of that country were so fond of preserving. By this artifice he deceived Francis, and gained so much confidence with the rest of Europe, that almost without incurring any suspicion, he involved the affair in new difficulties, and protracted the negociations at pleasure. Sometimes he proposed to grant the investiture of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's second son, sometimes to the Duke of Angouleme, his third son; as the views and inclinations of the French court varied, he transferred his choice alternately from the one to the other, with such profound and well-conducted dissimulation, that neither Francis nor his ministers seem to have penetrated his real intention; and all military operations were entirely suspended, as if nothing had remained but to enter quietly into possession of what they demanded. 1535.

During the interval gained in this manner, Charles, on his return from Tunis, assembled the states both of Sicily and Naples, and as they thought themselves greatly honoured by the presence of their sovereign, and were no less pleased with the apparent disinterestedness of his expedition into Africa, than dazzled by the success which had attended his arms, prevailed on them 1536. Charles's preparations for war.

Book VI. 1535. to vote him ſuch liberal ſubſidies as were ſeldom granted in that age. This enabled him to recruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Germans, and to take every other proper precaution for executing or ſupporting the meaſures on which he had determined. Bellay, the French envoy in Germany, having diſcovered the intention of raiſing troops in that country, notwithſtanding all the pretexts employed in order to conceal it, firſt alarmed his maſter with this evident proof of the Emperor's inſincerity[g]. But Francis was ſo poſſeſſed at that time with the rage of negociation, in all the artifices and refinements of which his rival far ſurpaſſed him, that inſtead of beginning his military operations, and puſhing them with vigour, or ſeizing the Milaneſe before the Imperial army was aſſembled, he ſatisfied himſelf with making new offers to the Emperor, in order to procure the inveſtiture by his voluntary deed. His offers were, indeed, ſo liberal and advantageous, that if ever Charles had intended to grant his demand, he could not have rejected them with decency. He dextrouſly eluded them, by declaring, that, until he conſulted the Pope in perſon, he could not take his final reſolution with regard to a point which ſo nearly concerned the peace of Italy. By this evaſion he gained ſome farther time for ripening the ſchemes which he had in view.

The Emperor enters Rome. April 6.

THE Emperor at laſt advanced towards Rome, and made his publick entry into that city with extraordinary pomp; but it being found neceſſary to remove the ruins of an ancient temple of Peace, in order to widen one of the ſtreets, through which the cavalcade had to paſs, all the hiſtorians take notice of this trivial circumſtance, which

[g] Mem. de Bellay, 192.

which they are fond to interpret as an omen of the bloody war that followed. Charles, it is certain, had by this time baniſhed all thoughts of peace; and at laſt threw off the maſk, with which he had ſo long covered his deſigns from the court of France, by a declaration of his ſentiments no leſs ſingular than explicit. The French ambaſſadors having in their maſter's name demanded a definitive reply to his propoſitions concerning the inveſtiture of Milan, Charles promiſed to give it next day in preſence of the Pope and Cardinals aſſembled in full conſiſtory. Theſe being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambaſſadors invited to attend, the Emperor ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Pope, expatiated for ſome time on the ſincerity of his own wiſhes for the peace of Chriſtendom, as well as his abhorrence of war. the miſeries of which he enumerated at great length, with ſtudied and elaborate oratory; he complained that all his endeavours to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the reſtleſs and unjuſt ambition of the French King; that even during his minority he had proofs of the unfriendly and hoſtile intentions of that Monarch; that afterwards, he had openly attempted to wreſt from him the Imperial crown which belonged to him by a title no leſs juſt than natural; that he had next invaded his kingdom of Navarre; that not ſatisfied with this, he had attacked his territories as well as thoſe of his allies both in Italy and the Low-Countries; that when the valour of the Imperial troops, rendered irreſiſtible by the protection of the Almighty, had checked his progreſs, ruined his armies, and ſeized his perſon, he continued to purſue by deceit what he had undertaken with injuſtice; that he had violated every article in the treaty of

His public invectives againſt Francis.

Book VI. 1536. Madrid, to which he owed his liberty, and as ſoon as he returned to his dominions took meaſures for re-kindling the war which that pacification had happily extinguiſhed; that when new misfortunes compelled him to ſue again for peace at Cambray, he concluded and obſerved it with equal inſincerity; that ſoon thereafter he had formed dangerous connexions with the heretical Princes in Germany, and incited them to diſturb the tranquillity of the Empire; that now he had driven the Duke of Savoy, his brother-in-law and ally, out of the greater part of his territories; that after injuries ſo often repeated, and amidſt ſo many ſources of diſcord, all hope of amity or concord became deſperate; and though he was ſtill willing to grant the inveſtiture of Milan to one of the princes of France, there was little probability of that event's taking place, as Francis, on the one hand, would not conſent to what he judged neceſſary for ſecuring the tranquillity of Europe, nor, on the other, could he think it reaſonable or ſafe to give a rival the unconditional poſſeſſion of all that he demanded. Let us not, however, added he, continue wantonly to ſhed the blood of our innocent ſubjects; let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what arms he pleaſes to chuſe, in our ſhirts, on an iſland, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the dutchy of Burgundy be put in depoſit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; theſe ſhall be the prize of the conqueror; and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain, and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate hereſy out of Chriſtendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, renders war inevitable, nothing ſhall divert me from proſecuting it to ſuch extremity, as ſhall reduce one

Challenges him to ſingle combat.

of

of us to be the pooreſt gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune ſhall fall; I enter upon action with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; the juſtice of my cauſe, the union of my ſubjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to enſure it. Of all theſe advantages, the King of France is deſtitute; and were my reſources no more certain, and my hopes of Victory no better founded than his, I would inſtantly throw myſelf at his feet, and with folded hands, and a rope about my neck, implore his mercy[h].

THIS long harangue the Emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greateſt vehemence of expreſſion and geſture. The French ambaſſadors, who did not fully comprehend his meaning, as he ſpake in the Spaniſh tongue, were totally diſconcerted, and at a loſs how they ſhould anſwer ſuch an unexpected invective; when one of them began to vindicate his maſter's conduct, Charles interpoſed abruptly, and would not permit him to proceed. The Pope, without entering into any particular detail, ſatisfied himſelf with a ſhort but pathetick recommendation of peace, together with an offer of employing his ſincere endeavours in order to procure that bleſſing to Chriſtendom; and the aſſembly broke up in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary ſcene which had been exhibited. In no part of his conduct, indeed, did Charles ever deviate ſo widely from his general character. Inſtead of that prudent recollection, that compoſed and regular deportment ſo ſtrictly attentive to decorum, and ſo admirably adapted to conceal his own

The motives of this raſh meaſure.

[h] Bellay, 199. Sandov. Hiſtor. del Emper. II. 226.

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own paſſions, for which he was at all other times conſpicuous, he appears on this occaſion before the moſt auguſt aſſembly in Europe, boaſting of his own power and exploits with inſolence; inveighing againſt his enemy with indecency; and challenging him to combat with an oſtentatious valour, more becoming a champion in romance, than the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom. But the well known and powerful operation of continued proſperity, as well as of exaggerated praiſe, even upon the firmeſt minds, ſufficiently account for this ſeeming inconſiſtency. After having compelled Solyman to retreat, and having ſtripped Barbaroſſa of a Kingdom, Charles began to conſider his arms as invincible. He had been entertained, ever ſince his return from Africa, with repeated ſcenes of triumphs and publick rejoicings; the orators and poets of Italy, the moſt elegant at that time in Europe, had exhauſted their genius in panegyrick, to which the aſtrologers added magnificent promiſes of a more ſplendid fortune ſtill in ſtore. Intoxicated with all theſe, he forgot his uſual reſerve and moderation, and was unable to reſtrain this extravagant ſally of vanity, which became the more remarkable, by being both ſo uncommon and ſo publick.

He himſelf ſeems to have been immediately ſenſible of the impropriety of his behaviour; and when the French ambaſſadors demanded next day a more clear explanation of what he had ſaid concerning the combat, he told them, that they were not to conſider his propoſal as a formal challenge to their maſter, but as an expedient for preventing bloodſhed; he endeavoured to ſoften other expreſſions in his diſcourſe; and ſpoke in terms full of reſpect towards Francis.

But

But though this ſlight apology was far from being ſufficient to remove the offence which had been given, Francis, by an unaccountable infatuation, continued to negociate, as if it had ſtill been poſſible to bring their differences to a period by an amicable compoſition. Charles, finding him ſo eager to run into the ſnare, favoured the deception; and by ſeeming to liſten to his propoſals, gained time to prepare for the execution of his own deſigns [i].

Charles invades France.

At laſt, the Imperial army aſſembled on the frontiers of the Milaneſe, to the amount of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiſs, whom Charles artfully perſuaded the Popiſh cantons to recal, that they might not ſerve againſt the Duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general, not daring to riſque a battle, retired as ſoon as the Imperialiſts advanced. The Emperor put himſelf at the head of his forces, which the Marquis del Guaſto, the Duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzaga commanded under him, though the ſupreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whoſe abilities and experience juſtly entitled him to that diſtinction. Charles ſoon diſcovered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to puſh forward and invade the ſouthern provinces of France. This ſcheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking meaſures for executing it with ſuch vigour as might enſure ſucceſs. He had remitted large ſums to his ſiſter, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, and

May 6.

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[i] Mem. de Bellay, 205, &c.

Book VI. 1536. to his brother, the King of the Romans, inſtructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two ſeparate bodies, the one to enter France on the ſide of Picardy, the other on the ſide of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the oppoſite frontier of the kingdom. Truſting to theſe vaſt preparations, he thought it impoſſible that Francis could reſiſt ſo many unexpected attacks, on ſuch different quarters; and begun his enterprize with ſuch confidence of its happy iſſue, that he deſired Jovius the hiſtorian to make a large proviſion of paper ſufficient to record the victories which he was going to acquire.

His miniſters and generals, inſtead of entertaining the ſame ſanguine hopes, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt terms the danger of leading his troops ſo far from his own territories, to ſuch a diſtance from his magazines, and into provinces which did not yield ſufficient ſubſiſtence for their own inhabitants. They entreated him to conſider the inexhauſtible reſources of France in maintaining a defenſive war, and the active zeal with which a gallant nobility would ſerve a Prince whom they loved, in repelling the enemies of their country; they recalled to his remembrance the fatal miſcarriage of Bourbon and Peſcara, when they ventured upon the ſame enterprize under circumſtances which ſeemed as certainly to promiſe ſucceſs; the Marquis del Guaſto in particular, fell on his knees, and conjured him to abandon the undertaking as deſperate. But many circumſtances combined in leading Charles to diſregard all their remonſtrances. He could ſeldom be brought, on any occaſion, to depart from a reſolution which he had once taken; he was too apt to under-rate

and

and deſpiſe the talents of his rival the King of France, becauſe they differed ſo widely from his own; he was blinded by the preſumption which accompanies proſperity; and relied, perhaps, in ſome degree on the prophecies which predicted the increaſe of his own grandeur. He not only adhered obſtinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except ſuch towns as were abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving his communication with the Milaneſe.

THE Marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had entruſted the command of a ſmall body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered this more eaſy than Charles had any reaſon to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, diſtinguiſhed by continual marks of the King's favour, and honoured ſo lately with a charge of ſuch importance, ſuddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of diſguſt, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action, were as childiſh as the deed itſelf was baſe. Being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious faith in divination and aſtrology, he believed with full aſſurance, that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the Emperor would eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence, in attaching himſelf to his riſing fortune, and could incur no blame for deſerting a Prince whom heaven had devoted to deſtruction[k]. His treaſon became ſtill more odious, by his employing that very authority with which Francis had inveſted him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever

Recovers part of the duke of Savoy's dominions.

[k] Bellay, 222, a. 246, b.

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Whatever was propoſed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conqueſts, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himſelf as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpoſe, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greateſt conſequence untenable, by leaving them deſtitute either of proviſions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a ſufficient garriſon; and the Imperialiſts muſt have reduced Piedmont in as ſhort a time as was neceſſary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, had not, by an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them almoſt a month before that inconſiderable place.

Francis's plan for the defence of his kingdom.

By this meritorious and ſeaſonable ſervice, he gained his maſter ſufficient time for aſſembling his forces, and for concerting a ſyſtem of defence againſt a danger which he now ſaw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in chuſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it, deſerve the greater praiſe, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them; and to ſave the whole kingdom, by ſacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was the

the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for ſuch a truſt. Haughty, ſevere, confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men; incapable of being diverted from any reſolution by remonſtrances or entreaties; and, in proſecuting any ſcheme, regardleſs alike of love and of pity. Book VI. 1536. Entruſts Montmorency with the execution of it.

Montmorency made choice of a ſtrong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and Durance; one of which plentifully ſupplied his troops with all neceſſaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that ſide, where it was moſt probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied induſtry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and aſſembled there a conſiderable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the King with another body of troops encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marſeilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it neceſſary to defend; the former, in order to retain the command of the ſea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of theſe he furniſhed with numerous garriſons of his beſt troops, commanded by officers, on whoſe fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns, as well as of the open country, were compelled to abandon their houſes, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage, and proviſions of every kind, were carried away or deſtroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs. The devaſtation extended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and He encamps at Avignon.

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Whatever was propoſed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conqueſts, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himſelf as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpoſe, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greateſt conſequence untenable, by leaving them deſtitute either of proviſions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a ſufficient garriſon; and the Imperialiſts muſt have reduced Piedmont in as ſhort a time as was neceſſary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, had not, by an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them almoſt a month before that inconſiderable place.

Francis's plan for the defence of his kingdom.

By this meritorious and ſeaſonable ſervice, he gained his maſter ſufficient time for aſſembling his forces, and for concerting a ſyſtem of defence againſt a danger which he now ſaw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in chuſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it, deſerve the greater praiſe, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them; and to ſave the whole kingdom, by ſacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was the

the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for such a trust. Haughty, severe, confident in his own abilities, and despising those of other men; incapable of being diverted from any resolution by remonstrances or entreaties; and, in prosecuting any scheme, regardless alike of love and of pity. Book VI. 1536. Entrusts Montmorency with the execution of it.

Montmorency made choice of a strong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and Durance; one of which plentifully supplied his troops with all necessaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that side, where it was most probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied industry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and assembled there a considerable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the King with another body of troops encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marseilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend; the former, in order to retain the command of the sea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of these he furnished with numerous garrisons of his best troops, commanded by officers, on whose fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns, as well as of the open country, were compelled to abandon their houses, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage, and provisions of every kind, were carried away or destroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered useless. The devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and He encamps at Avignon.

Book VI. 1536. and from the ſea to the confines of Dauphinè; nor does hiſtory afford any inſtance among civilized nations, in which this cruel expedient for the publick ſafety was employed with the ſame rigour.

Charles enters Provence.

MEANWHILE, the Emperor arrived, with the van of his army, on the frontiers of Provence, and was ſtill ſo poſſeſſed with confidence of ſucceſs, that during a few days, when he was obliged to halt until the reſt of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conqueſts among his officers; and as a new incitement to ſerve him with zeal, gave them liberal promiſes of offices, lands, and honours in France [l]. The face of deſolation, however, which preſented itſelf to him, when he entered the country, began to damp his hopes; and convinced him that a Monarch, who, in order to diſtreſs an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richeſt provinces, would defend the reſt with obſtinate deſpair. Nor was it long before he became ſenſible, that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which Charles chiefly depended for ſubſiſtence, was prevented for ſome time by contrary winds, and other accidents to which naval operations are ſubject, from approaching the French coaſt; even after its arrival, it afforded, at beſt, a precarious and ſcanty ſupply to ſuch a numerous body of troops [m]; nothing was to be found in the country itſelf for their ſupport; nor could they draw any conſiderable aid from the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, exhauſted already by maintaining two great armies. The Emperor was no leſs embarraſſed how to employ, than how to ſubſiſt his forces; for though he was now

[l] Bellay, 266. a. [m] Sandov. ii. 231.

now in poſſeſſion of almoſt an entire province, he could not be ſaid to have the command of it, while he held only defenceleſs towns; and while the French, beſides their camp at Avignon, continued maſters of Marſeilles and Arles. At firſt he thought of attacking the camp, and of terminating the war by one deciſive blow; but ſkilful officers, who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable. He then gave orders to inveſt Marſeilles and Arles, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous poſt in order to relieve them; but Montmorency adhering firmly to his plan, remained immoveable at Avignon; and the Imperialiſts met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſons of both towns, that they relinquiſhed their enterprizes with loſs and diſgrace. As a laſt effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, though with an army haraſſed by the perpetual incurſions of ſmall parties of the French light troops, weakened by diſeaſes, and diſpirited by diſaſters, which ſeemed more intolerable, becauſe they were unexpected.

Beſieges Marſeilles.

DURING theſe operations, Montmorency found himſelf expoſed to greater danger from his own troops than from the enemy; and their inconſiderate valour went near to have precipitated the kingdom into thoſe calamities, which he with ſuch induſtry and caution had endeavoured to avoid. Unaccuſtomed to behold an enemy ravaging their country almoſt without controul; impatient of ſuch long inaction; unacquainted with the ſlow and remote, but certain effects of Montmorency's ſyſtem of defence; the French wiſhed for a battle with no leſs ardour than the Imperialiſts. They conſidered the conduct of their general as a diſgrace to their country. His caution they imputed to timidity; his circumſpection

Montmorency's fortitude in adhering to his plan of defence.

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ſpection to want of ſpirit; and the conſtancy with which he purſued his plan, to obſtinacy or pride. Theſe reflections, whiſpered, at firſt, among the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, were adopted, by degrees, by officers of higher rank; and as many of them envied Montmorency's favour with the King, and more were diſſatisfied with his harſh diſguſting manner, the diſcontent ſoon became great in his camp, which was filled with general murmurings and almoſt open complaints againſt his meaſures. Montmorency, on whom the ſentiments of his own troops made as little impreſſion as the inſults of the enemy, adhered ſteadily to his ſyſtem; though, in order to reconcile the army to his maxims, no leſs contrary to the genius of the nation, than to the ideas of war among undiſciplined troops, he aſſumed an unuſual affability in his deportment, and often explained, with great condeſcenſion, the motives of his conduct, the advantages which had already reſulted from it, and the certain ſucceſs with which it would be attended. At laſt Francis joined his army at Avignon, which having received ſeveral reinforcements, he now conſidered as of ſtrength ſufficient to face the enemy. As he had put no ſmall conſtraint upon himſelf, in conſenting that his troops ſhould remain ſo long upon the defenſive, it cannot be doubted but that his fondneſs for what was daring and ſplendid, added to the impatience both of officers and ſoldiers, would at laſt have overruled Montmorency's ſalutary caution [n].

The retreat and wretched condition of the Imperial army.

Happily the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any raſh reſolution might have occaſioned. The Emperor, after ſpending two inglorious months in Provence,

[n] Mem. de Bellay, 269, &c. 312, &c.

Provence, without having performed any thing ſuitable to his vaſt preparations, or that could juſtify the confidence with which he had boaſted of his own power, found that, beſides Antonio de Leyva, and other officers of diſtinction, he had loſt one half of his troops by diſeaſes, or by famine; and that the reſt were in no condition to ſtruggle any longer with calamities, by which ſo many of their companions had periſhed. Neceſſity, therefore, extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was ſome time in motion before the French ſuſpected his intention, a body of light troops, aſſiſted by crowds of peaſants, eager to be revenged on thoſe who had brought ſuch deſolation on their country, hung upon the rear of the Imperialiſts, and, by ſeizing every favourable opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confuſion. The road by which they fled (for they purſued their march with ſuch diſorder and precipitation, that it ſcarcely deſerves the name of a retreat) was ſtrewed with arms or baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the ſick, the wounded, and the dead; inſomuch, that Martin Bellay, an eye-witneſs of their calamities, endeavours to give his readers ſome idea of it, by comparing their miſeries to thoſe which the Jews ſuffered from the victorious and deſtructive arms of the Romans [o]. If Montmorency at this critical moment had advanced with all his forces, nothing could have ſaved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin. But that general, by ſtanding ſo long and ſo obſtinately on the defenſive, had become cautious to exceſs; his mind, tenacious of any bent it had once taken, could not aſſume a con-

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[o] Mem. de Bellay, 316. Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 232.

Book VI. 1536. a contrary one as ſuddenly as the change of circumſtances required; and he ſtill continued to repeat his favourite maxims, that it was more prudent to allow the lion to eſcape, than to drive him to deſpair; and that a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a retreating enemy.

The Emperor having conducted the ſhattered remains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan, and appointed the marquis del Guaſto to ſucceed Leyva in the government of that dutchy, ſet out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expoſe himſelf to the ſcorn of the Italians, after ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune; and did not chooſe, under his preſent circumſtances, to reviſit thoſe cities through which he had ſo lately paſſed in triumph for one conqueſt, and in certain expectation of another, he embarked directly for Spain [p]. November.

Operations in Picardy.

Nor was the progreſs of his arms on the oppoſite frontier of France ſuch as to alleviate, in any degree, the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Provence. Bellay, by his addreſs and intrigues, had prevailed on ſo many of the German Princes to withdraw the contingent of troops which they had furniſhed to the King of the Romans, that he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of his intended irruption into Champagne. Though a powerful army, levied in the Low Countries, entered Picardy, which they found but feebly guarded, while the ſtrength of the kingdom was drawn towards the ſouth; yet the nobility taking arms with their uſual alacrity, ſupplied by their ſpirit the defects of the King's preparations, and defended Peronne, and other towns which were attacked, with ſuch vigour, as obliged the enemy

[p] Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxv. p. 174, &c.

enemy to retire without making any conqueſt of importance [9]. Book VI. 1536.

THUS Francis, by the prudence of his own meaſures, and by the union and valour of his ſubjects, rendered abortive thoſe vaſt efforts in which his rival had almoſt exhauſted his whole force. As this humbled the Emperor's arrogance no leſs than it checked his power, he was mortified more ſenſibly on this occaſion than on any other, during the courſe of the long conteſts between him and the French Monarch.

Death of the Dauphin.

ONE circumſtance alone embittered the joy with which the ſucceſs of the campaign inſpired Francis. That was the death of the Dauphin, his eldeſt ſon, a Prince of great hopes, and extremely beloved by the people on account of his reſemblance to his father. This happening ſuddenly, was imputed to poiſon, not only by the vulgar, fond of aſcribing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, but by the King and his miniſters. The count de Montecuculi, an Italian nobleman, cup-bearer to the Dauphin, being ſeized on ſuſpicion and put to the torture, openly charged the imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva, with having inſtigated him to the commiſſion of that crime: he even threw out ſome indirect and obſcure accuſations againſt the Emperor himſelf. At a time when all France was animated with implacable hatred againſt Charles, this uncertain and extorted charge was conſidered as an inconteſtible proof of guilt; while the confidence with which both he and his officers aſſerted their own innocence, together with the indignation as well as horror which they expreſſed on their being ſuppoſed

Im poiſon.

[9] Mem. de Bellay, 318, &c.

Book VI. capable of ſuch a deteſtable action, were little attended to, and leſs regarded[r]. It is evident, however, that the Emperor could have no inducement to perpetrate ſuch a crime, as Francis was ſtill in the vigour of life himſelf, and had two ſons, beſide the Dauphin, grown up to a good age. That ſingle conſideration, without mentioning the Emperor's general character, unblemiſhed by the imputation of any deed reſembling this in atrocity, is more than ſufficient to counterbalance the weight of a dubious teſtimony uttered during the anguiſh of torture[s]. According to the moſt unprejudiced hiſtorians, the Dauphin's death was occaſioned by his having drunk too freely of cold water after overheating himſelf at tennis; and this account, as it is the moſt ſimple, is likewiſe the moſt credible. But if his days were cut ſhort by poiſon, it is not improbable that the Emperor conjectured rightly, when he affirmed that it had been adminiſtered by the direction of Catharine of Medici, in order to ſecure the crown to the Duke of Orleans, her huſband[t]. The advantages reſulting to her by the Dauphin's death, were obvious as well as great; nor did her boundleſs and daring ambition ever ſcruple at any action neceſſary towards attaining the objects which ſhe had in view.

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1537. Decree of the parliament of Paris againſt the Emperor.

Next year opened with a tranſaction very uncommon, but ſo incapable of producing any effect, that it would not deſerve to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking proof of the perſonal animoſity which mingled itſelf in all the hoſtilities between Charles and Francis, and which often betrayed them into ſuch indecencies towards

[r] Mem. de Bellay, 289. [s] Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 231. [t] Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlo V. p. 75.

wards each other, as leſſened the dignity of both. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his ſeat in the parliament of Paris with the uſual ſolemnities, the advocate-general appeared; and after accuſing Charles of Auſtria, (for ſo he affected to call the Emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was abſolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders, inſiſted that this treaty being now void, he was ſtill to be conſidered as a vaſſal of the crown, and by conſequence, had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms againſt his ſovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles ſhould be ſummoned to appear in perſon, or by his counſel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to anſwer for his crime. The requeſt was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and ſummoned him with the accuſtomed formalities, to appear againſt a day prefixed. That term being expired, and no perſon appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, "That Charles of Auſtria had forfeited, by rebellion and contumacy, thoſe fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be re-united to the crown of France; and ordered their decree for this purpoſe to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet on the frontiers of theſe provinces [u]. Book VI. 1537.

Campaign opens in the Low-Countries, March.

Soon after this vain diſplay of his reſentment, rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low-Countries, as if he had intended to execute the ſentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to ſeize thoſe territories which it had awarded to him. As the Queen of Hungary,

[u] Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, par Ribier, 2 tom. Blois. 1666. tom. i. p. 1.

Book VI. 1537. gary, to whom her brother the Emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for ſo early a campaign, he at firſt made ſome progreſs, and took ſeveral towns of importance. But being obliged ſoon to leave his army, in order to ſuperintend the other operations of war, the Flemings having aſſembled a numerous army, not only recovered moſt of the places which they had loſt, but began to make conqueſts in their turn. At laſt they inveſted Terouenne; and the Duke of Orleans, now Dauphin, by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the conſtable's ſword, as the reward of his great ſervices during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpoſe, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were ſtopt ſhort by the arrival of an herald from the Queen of Hungary, acquainting them that a ſuſpenſion of arms was now agreed upon.

A ſuſpenſion of arms there.

This unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two ſiſters, the Queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending Monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waſte the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either. The French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both. Charles as well as Francis, who had each ſtrained to the utmoſt, in order to ſupport the vaſt operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter, without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wiſhed to puſh the war with the greateſt vigour. All theſe circumſtances facilitated

cilitated the negociations of the two Queens; a truce was concluded, to continue in force for ten months, but it extended no farther than the Low-Countries [x]. Book VI. 1537. July 30.

In Piedmont the war was ſtill proſecuted with great animoſity; and though neither Charles nor Francis could make the powerful efforts to which this animoſity prompted them, they continued to exert themſelves like combatants, whoſe rancour remains after their ſtrength is exhauſted. Towns were alternately loſt and retaken; ſkirmiſhes were fought every day; and much blood was ſhed, without any deciſive action, that gave the ſuperiority to either ſide. At laſt the two Queens, determining not to leave unfiniſhed the good work which they had begun, prevailed, by their importunate ſolicitations, the one on her brother, the other on her huſband, to conſent alſo to a truce in Piedmont for three months. The conditions of it were, that each ſhould keep poſſeſſion of what was in his hands, and after leaving garriſons in the towns, ſhould withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries ſhould be appointed to adjuſt all matters in diſpute by a final treaty [y]. And in Piedmont.

The powerful motives which inclined both Princes to this accommodation, have been often mentioned. The expences of the war had far exceeded the ſums which their revenues were capable of ſupplying, nor durſt they venture upon any great addition to the impoſitions then eſtabliſhed, as ſubjects were not yet taught to bear with patience the immenſe burdens to which they have become accuſtomed in modern times. Motives of it.

The

[x] Memoires de Ribier, 56. [y] Ibid. 62.

Book VI. 1537. The Emperor, in particular, though he had contracted debts which in that age appeared prodigious [z], had it not in his power to pay the large arrears long due to his army. At the ſame time he had no proſpect of deriving any aid in money or men either from the Pope or Venetians, though he had employed promiſes and threats, alternately, in order to procure it. But he found the former not only fixed in his reſolution of adhering ſteadily to the neutrality which he had always declared to be ſuitable to his character, but paſſionately deſirous of bringing about a peace. He perceived that the latter were ſtill intent on their ancient object of holding the balance even between the rivals, and ſolicitous not to throw too great a weight into either ſcale.

Of which, Francis's alliance with the Turkiſh Emperor the moſt conſiderable.

WHAT made a deeper impreſſion on Charles than all theſe, was the dread of the Turkiſh arms, which by his league with Solyman, Francis had drawn upon him. Though Francis, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle ally, had a war to maintain againſt an enemy greatly ſuperior in power to himſelf, yet ſo great was the horror of Chriſtians, in that age, at any union with Infidels, which they conſidered not only as diſhonourable but profane, that it was long before he could be brought to avail himſelf of the obvious advantages reſulting from ſuch a confederacy. Neceſſity at laſt ſurmounted his delicacy and ſcruples. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, La Foreſt, a ſecret agent at the Ottoman Porte, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples, during the next campaign,

[z] Ribier, i. 294.

paign, and to attack the King of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army, while Francis undertook to enter the Milaneſe at the ſame time with a proper force. Solyman had punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbaroſſa with a great fleet appeared on the coaſt of Naples, filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with conſternation, landed without reſiſtance near Taranto, obliged Caſtro, a place of ſome ſtrength, to ſurrender, plundered the adjacent country, and was taking meaſures for ſecuring and extending his conqueſts, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the Pope's gallies, and a ſquadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the progreſs of the Turks was more formidable. Mahmet, their general, after gaining ſeveral ſmall advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Eſſek on the Drave [a]. Happily for Chriſtendom, it was not in Francis's power to execute with equal exactneſs what he had ſtipulated; nor could he aſſemble at this juncture an army ſtrong enough to penetrate into the Milaneſe. By this he failed in recovering poſſeſſion of that dutchy; and Italy was not only ſaved from the calamities of a new war, but from feeling the deſolating rage of the Turkiſh arms, as an addition to all that it had ſuffered [b]. As the Emperor knew that he could not long reſiſt the efforts of two ſuch powerful confederates, nor could expect that the ſame fortunate accidents would concur a ſecond time to deliver Naples, and to preſerve the Milaneſe: As he foreſaw that the Italian ſtates would not only tax him loudly with inſatiable ambition, but might

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[a] Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiii. p. 139.
[b] Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxv. p. 183.

Book VI. might even turn their arms againſt him, if he ſhould be ſo regardleſs of their danger as obſtinately to protract the war, he thought it neceſſary, both for his ſafety and reputation, to give his conſent to a truce. Nor was Francis willing to ſuſtain all the blame of obſtructing the reeſtabliſhment of peace, or to expoſe himſelf on that account to the danger of being deſerted by the Swiſs and other foreigners in his ſervice. He even began to apprehend that his own ſubjects would ſerve him coldly, if by contributing to aggrandize the power of the Infidels, which it was his duty, and had been the ambition of his anceſtors to depreſs, he continued to act in direct oppoſition to all the principles which ought to influence a Monarch diſtinguiſhed by the title of Moſt Chriſtian King. He choſe, for all theſe reaſons, rather to run the riſk of diſobliging his new ally the Sultan, than by an unſeaſonable adherence to the treaty with him, to forfeit what was of greater conſequence.

1537.

Negociations of a peace between Charles and Francis.

But though both parties conſented to a truce, the plenipotentiaries found inſuperable difficulties in ſettling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the Monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would ſo far acknowledge his inferiority, as to ſacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquiſh any matter of right; ſo that the plenipotentiaries ſpent the time in long and fruitleſs negociations, and ſeparated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months.

1538.

The Pope conducts theſe in perſon.

The Pope, however, did not deſpair of accompliſhing a point in which the plenipotentiaries had failed, and took upon himſelf the ſole burden of negociating a peace. To form a confederacy

federacy capable of defending Chriſtendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkiſh arms, and to concert effectual meaſures for the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart; and he conſidered the union of the Emperor with the King of France as an eſſential preliminary to both. To be the inſtrument of reconciling theſe contending Monarchs, whom his predeceſſors by their intereſted and indecent intrigues had ſo often embroiled, was a circumſtance which could not fail of throwing diſtinguiſhed luſtre on his character and adminiſtration. Nor was he without hopes that, while he purſued this laudable end, he might ſecure advantages to his own family, the aggrandizing of which he did not neglect, though he aimed at it with a leſs audacious ambition than was common among the Popes of that century. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, he propoſed an interview between the two Monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in perſon, that he might act as mediator in compoſing all their differences. When a Pontiff of a venerable character, and of very advanced age, was willing, from his zeal for peace, to undergo the fatigues of ſuch a diſtant journey, neither Charles nor Francis could with decency decline the interview. But though both came to the place of rendezvous, ſo great was the difficulty of adjuſting the ceremonial, or ſuch the remains of diſtruſt and rancour on each ſide, that they refuſed to ſee one another, and every thing was tranſacted by the intervention of the Pope, who viſited them alternately. With all his zeal and ingenuity he could not find out a method of removing the obſtacles which prevented a final accommodation, particularly thoſe ariſing from the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe; nor

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was

Book VI. was all the weight of his authority ſufficient to overcome the obſtinate perſeverance of either Monarch in aſſerting his own claims. At laſt, that he might not ſeem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to ſign a truce for ten years, upon the ſame condition with the former, that each ſhould retain what was now in his poſſeſſion, and in the mean time ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to diſcuſs their pretenſions at leiſure [c].

1538. A truce for ten years concluded at Nice, June 18.

Thus ended a war of no long continuance, but very extenſive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmoſt ſtrength. Though Francis failed in the object that he had principally in view, the recovery of the Milaneſe, he acquired, nevertheleſs, great reputation by the wiſdom of his meaſures, as well as the ſucceſs of his arms in repulſing a formidable invaſion; and by ſecuring poſſeſſion of one half of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, he added no inconſiderable acceſſion to his kingdom. Whereas Charles, repulſed and baffled, after having boaſted ſo arrogantly of victory, purchaſed an inglorious truce, by ſacrificing an ally who had raſhly confided too much in his friendſhip and power. The unfortunate Duke murmured, complained, and remonſtrated againſt a treaty ſo much to his diſadvantage, but in vain; he had no means of redreſs, and was obliged to ſubmit. Of all his dominions, Nice, with its dependencies, was the only corner of which he himſelf kept poſſeſſion. He ſaw the reſt divided between a powerful invader and the ally to whoſe protection he had truſted, while he remained

[c] Recueil des Traitez, ii. 210. Relatione del Nicolo Tiepolo de l'abocamento di Nizza chez. Du Mont Corps Diplomat. par. ii. p. 174.

mained a ſad monument of the imprudence of weak Princes, who by taking part in the quarrel of mighty neighbours, between whom they happen to be ſituated, are cruſhed and overwhelmed in the ſhock. Book VI. 1538.

A FEW days after ſigning the treaty of truce, the Emperor ſet ſail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the iſland St. Margaret on the coaſt of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far diſtant, heard of this, he conſidered it as an office of civility to invite him to take ſhelter in his dominions, and propoſed a perſonal interview with him at Aigues-mortes. The Emperor, who would not be out-done by his rival in complaiſance, inſtantly repaired thither. As ſoon as he caſt anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to ſettle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his ſecurity, viſited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmeſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection. Next day the Emperor repaid the confidence which the King had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on ſhore during the night, and in both viſits they vied with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip [d]. After twenty years of open hoſtilities, or of ſecret enmity; after ſo many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lie and challenged one another to ſingle combat; after the Emperor had inveighed ſo publickly

Interview between Charles and Francis at Aigues-mortes.

[d] Sandov. Hiſt. vol. ii. 238. Relation de l'entrevue de Charl. V. & Fran. I. par M. de la Rivoire. Hiſt. de Langued. par D. D. De Vic. & Vaiſette, tom. v. Preuves, p. 93.

Book VI 1538. lickly againſt Francis as a Prince void of honour and integrity; and Francis had accuſed him as acceſſary to the murder of his eldeſt ſon; ſuch an interview appears altogether ſingular and even unnatural. But the hiſtory of theſe Monarchs abounds with ſuch ſurpriſing tranſitions. From implacable enmity they appeared to paſs, in a moment, to the moſt cordial reconcilement; from ſuſpicion and diſtruſt to perfect confidence; and from practiſing all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could aſſume, of a ſudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen.

The aſſaſſination of Alexander di Medici.

The Pope, beſides the glory of having reſtored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great conſequence to his family, by prevailing on the Emperor to betroth Margaret of Auſtria, his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander di Medici, to his grandſon Octavio Farneſe, and in conſideration of this marriage, to beſtow ſeveral honours and territories upon his future ſon-in-law. A very tragical event, which happened about the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, had deprived Margaret of her firſt huſband. That young prince, whom the Emperor's partiality had raiſed to the ſupreme power in Florence, upon the ruins of the publick liberty, neglected entirely the cares of government, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt diſſolute debauchery. Lorenzo di Medici, his neareſt kinſman, was not only the companion but director of his pleaſures, and employing all the powers of a cultivated and inventive genius in this diſhonourable miniſtry, added ſuch elegance as well as variety to vice, as gained him an abſolute aſcendant over the mind of Alexander. But while

while Lorenzo ſeemed to be ſunk in luxury, and affected ſuch an appearance of indolence and effeminacy, that he would not wear a ſword, and trembled at the ſight of blood, he concealed, under that diſguiſe, a dark, deſigning, audacious ſpirit. Prompted either by the love of liberty, or allured by the hope of obtaining the ſupreme power, he determined to aſſaſſinate Alexander, his benefactor and friend. Though he long revolved this deſign in his mind, his reſerved and ſuſpicious temper prevented him from communicating it to any perſon whatever; and continuing to live with Alexander in their uſual familiarity, he, one night, under pretence of having ſecured him an aſſignation with a lady of high rank, whom he had often ſolicited, drew that unwary Prince into a ſecret apartment of his houſe, and there ſtabbed him, while he lay careleſsly on a couch, expecting the arrival of the lady whoſe company he had been promiſed. But no ſooner was the deed done, than ſtanding aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with horror at its atrocity, he forgot, in a moment, all the motives which had induced him to commit it. Inſtead of rouzing the people to recover their liberty by publiſhing the death of the tyrant, inſtead of taking any ſtep towards opening his own way to the dignity now vacant, he locked the door of the apartment, and, like a man bereaved of reaſon and preſence of mind, fled with the utmoſt precipitation out of the Florentine territories. It was late next morning before the fate of the unfortunate Prince was known, as his attendants, accuſtomed to his irregularities, never entered his apartment early. Immediately the chief perſons in the ſtate aſſembled. Being induced partly by the zeal of cardinal Cibo for the houſe of Medici, to which he was nearly related, partly by the

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Book VI. the authority of Francis Guicciardini, who recalled to their memory, and repreſented in ſtriking colours, the caprice as well as turbulence of their ancient popular government, they agreed to place Coſmo di Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illuſtrious houſe, at the head of the government; though at the ſame time ſuch was their love of liberty, that they eſtabliſhed ſeveral regulations in order to circumſcribe and moderate his power.

1538. Coſmo di Medici placed at the head of the Florentine ſtate.

His government oppoſed by the Florentine exiles.

MEANWHILE Lorenzo having reached a place of ſafety, made known what he had done to Philip Strozzi, and the other Florentines who had been driven into exile, or who had voluntarily retired, when the republican form of government was aboliſhed, in order to make way for the dominion of the Medici. By them, the deed was extolled with extravagant praiſes, and the virtue of Lorenzo was compared with that of the elder Brutus, who diſregarded the ties of blood, or with that of the younger, who forgot the friendſhip and favours of the tyrant, that they might preſerve or recover the liberty of their country [e]. Nor did they reſt ſatisfied with empty panegyricks; they immediately quitted their different places of retreat, aſſembled forces, animated their vaſſals and partiſans to take arms, and to ſeize this opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the publick liberty on its ancient foundation. Being openly aſſiſted by the French ambaſſador at Rome, and ſecretly encouraged by the Pope, who bore no goodwill to the houſe of Medici, they entered the Florentine dominions with a conſiderable body of men. But the perſons who had elected Coſmo poſſeſſed

[e] Lettere di Principi, tom. iii. p. 52.

poſſeſſed not only the means of ſupporting his government, but abilities to employ them in the moſt proper manner. They levied, with the greateſt expedition, a good number of troops; they endeavoured, by every art, to gain the citizens of greateſt authority, and to render the adminiſtration of the young Prince agreeable to the people. Above all, they courted the Emperor's protection, as the only firm foundation of Coſmo's dignity and power. Charles, knowing the propenſity of the Florentines to the friendſhip of France, and how much all the partiſans of a republican government deteſted him as the oppreſſor of their liberties, ſaw it to be greatly for his intereſt to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient conſtitution in Florence. For this reaſon, he not only acknowledged Coſmo as head of the Florentine ſtate, and conferred on him all the titles of honour with which Alexander had been dignified, but engaged to defend him to the utmoſt; and as a pledge of this, ordered the commanders of ſuch of his troops as were ſtationed on the frontiers of Tuſcany, to ſupport him againſt all aggreſſors. By their aid, Coſmo obtained an eaſy victory over the exiles, whoſe troops he ſurpriſed in the night-time, and took moſt of the chiefs priſoners: an event which broke all their meaſures, and fully eſtabliſhed his own authority. But though he was extremely deſirous of the additional honour of marrying the Emperor's daughter, the widow of his predeceſſor, Charles, ſecure already of his attachment, choſe rather to gratify the Pope by beſtowing her on his nephew[f].

DURING

[f] Jovii Hiſt. c. xcviii. p. 218, &c. Belcarii Comment. l. xxii. p. 696. Iſtoria de ſui tempi di Giov. Bat. Adriani. Ven. 1587. p. 10.

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1538. The friendſhip between Francis and Henry VIII. begins to abate.

During the war between the Emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in ſome degree the warmth and cordiality of friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the latter and the King of England. James the Fifth of Scotland, an enterprizing young Prince, having heard of the Emperor's intention to invade Provence, was ſo fond of ſhewing that he did not yield to any of his anceſtors in the ſincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and ſo eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome military exploit, that he levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the King of France. Though ſome unfortunate accidents prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in perſon. Immediately upon his landing he haſtened to Provence; but had been detained ſo long in his voyage that he came too late to have any ſhare in the military operations, and met the King on his return after the retreat of the Imperialiſts. But Francis was ſo greatly pleaſed with his zeal, and no leſs with his manners and converſation, that he could not refuſe him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. It mortified Henry extremely to ſee a Prince of whom he was immoderately jealous, form an alliance, from which he derived ſuch an acceſſion of reputation as well as ſecurity [g]. He could not, however, with decency, oppoſe Francis's beſtowing his daughter upon a Monarch deſcended from a race of Princes, the moſt ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the ſudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his ſecond wife Mary of Guiſe, he warmly ſolicited

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[g] Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 77.

cited Francis to deny his ſuit, and in order to diſappoint him, aſked that lady in marriage for himſelf. When Francis preferred the Scottiſh King's ſincere courtſhip to his artful and malevolent propoſal, he diſcovered much diſſatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new ſuſpicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendſhip for the ſake of new connections with the Emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the Engliſh King, and watchful to obſerve all the ſhiftings and caprices of his paſſions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negociations with him, which had been long broken off. By the death of Queen Catharine, whoſe intereſt the Emperor could not with decency have abandoned, the chief cauſe of their diſcord was removed; ſo that without touching upon the delicate queſtion of her divorce, he might now take what meaſures he thought moſt effectual for regaining Henry's good-will. For this purpoſe, he began with propoſing ſeveral marriage treaties to the King. He offered his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark, to Henry himſelf; he demanded the princeſs Mary for one of the Princes of Portugal, and was even willing to receive her as the King's illegitimate daughter[h]. Though none of theſe projected alliances ever took place, or perhaps were ever ſeriouſly intended, they occaſioned ſuch frequent intercourſe between the courts, and ſo many reciprocal profeſſions of civility and eſteem, as conſiderably abated the edge of Henry's rancour againſt the Emperor, and paved the way for that union be-

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The Emperor courts Henry.

[h] Mem. de Ribier, t i 496.

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tween them which afterwards proved ſo diſadvantageous to the French King.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

THE ambitious ſchemes in which the Emperor had been engaged, and the wars he had been carrying on for ſome years, proved, as uſual, extremely favourable to the progreſs of the Reformation in Germany. While Charles was abſent upon his African expedition, or intent on his vaſt projects againſt France, his chief object in Germany was to prevent the diſſenſions about religion from diſturbing the publick tranquillity, by granting ſuch indulgence to the Proteſtant Princes as might induce them to concur with his meaſures, or at leaſt hinder them from taking part with his rival. For this reaſon, he was careful to ſecure to the Proteſtants the poſſeſſion of all the advantages which they had gained by the articles of pacification at Nuremberg, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two [i]; and except ſome ſlight trouble from the proceedings of the Imperial chamber, they met with nothing to diſturb them in the exerciſe of their religion, or to interrupt the ſucceſsful zeal with which they propagated their opinions. Meanwhile the Pope continued his negociations for convoking a general council; and though the Proteſtants had expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua as the place of meeting, he adhered obſtinately to his choice, iſſued a bull on the ſecond of June, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, appointing it to aſſemble in that city on the twenty-third of May the year following; he nominated three cardinals to preſide in his name; enjoined all Chriſtian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the prelates of every nation to

Negociations and intrigues with reſpect to a general council.

[i] Du Mont. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 138.

to attend in perſon. This citation of a council, an aſſembly which from its nature and intention demanded quiet times, as well as pacific diſpoſitions, at the very juncture when the Emperor was on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confuſions of war, appeared to every perſon extremely unſeaſonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios diſpatched of purpoſe [k]. With an intention to gratify the Germans, the Emperor, during his reſidence in Rome, had warmly ſolicited the Pope to call a council; but being at the ſame time willing to try every art in order to perſuade Paul to depart from the neutrality which he preſerved between him and Francis, he ſent Heldo his vice-chancellor into Germany, along with a nuncio diſpatched thither, inſtructing him to ſecond all the nuncio's repreſentations, and to enforce them with the whole weight of the Imperial authority. The Proteſtants gave them audience at Smalkalde, where they had aſſembled in a body, in order to receive them. But after weighing all their arguments, they unanimouſly refuſed to acknowledge a council ſummoned in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone; in which he aſſumed the ſole right of preſiding; which was to be held in a city not only far diſtant from Germany, but ſubject to a Prince, a ſtranger to them, and cloſely connected with the court of Rome; and to which their divines could not repair with ſafety, eſpecially after their doctrines had been ſtigmatized in the very bull of convocation with the name of hereſy. Theſe and many other objections againſt the council, which appeared to them unanſwerable, they enumerated in a large manifeſto,

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[k] Pallavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. 113.

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which they publiſhed in vindication of their conduct [l].

Against this the court of Rome exclaimed as a flagrant proof of their obſtinacy and preſumption, and the Pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to hold the council at the time and in the place appointed. But ſome unexpected difficulties being ſtarted by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of juriſdiction over the perſons who reſorted to the council, and the ſecurity of his capital amidſt ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers, the Pope, after fruitleſs endeavours to adjuſt theſe, firſt prorogued the council for ſome months, and afterwards transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza in the Venetian territories, appointed it to aſſemble on the firſt of May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor French King, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their ſubjects to repair thither, not a ſingle prelate appeared on the day prefixed; and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by ſo many ineffectual intimations, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation [m].

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A partial reformation of abuſes by the Pope.

But, that he might not ſeem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accompliſh, while he neglected that which was in his own power, he deputed a certain number of cardinals and biſhops, with full authority to inquire into the abuſes and corruptions of the Roman court; and to propoſe the moſt effectual method of removing them. This ſcrutiny, undertaken with reluctance,

[l] Sleidan, l. xii. 123, &c. Seckend. Com. lib. iii. p. 143, &c. [m] F. Paul. 117. Pallavic. 117.

luctance, was carried on ſlowly and with remiſſ- Book VI.
neſs. All defects were touched with a gentle 1538.
hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of diſcovering too much. But even by this partial examination, many irregularities were detected, and many enormities expoſed to light, while the remedies which they ſuggeſted as moſt proper, were either inadequate, or were never applied. The report and reſolutions of theſe deputies, though intended to be kept ſecret, were tranſmitted by ſome accident into Germany, and being immediately made publick, afforded ample matter for reflection and triumph to the Proteſtants [n]. On the one hand they demonſtrated the neceſſity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions againſt which Luther and his followers had remonſtrated with the greateſt vehemence. They ſhewed on the other hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from eccleſiaſticks themſelves, who, as Luther ſtrongly expreſſed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers [o].

A league formed in oppoſition to that at Smalkalde.

The earneſtneſs with which the Emperor ſeemed, at firſt, to preſs their acquieſcing in the Pope's ſcheme of holding a council in Italy, alarmed the Proteſtant Princes ſo much, that they thought it prudent to ſtrengthen their confederacy, by admitting ſeveral new members who ſolicited that privilege, particularly the King of Denmark. Heldo, who, during his reſidence in Germany, had obſerved all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the catholick powers of the Empire.

[n] Sleidan, 233. [o] Seck. I. iii. 164.

Book VI. 1539. pire. This league, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Holy*, was merely defenſive; and though concluded by Heldo in the Emperor's name, was afterwards diſowned by him, and ſubſcribed by very few Princes [p].

Alarms the Proteſtants. THE Proteſtants ſoon got intelligence of this aſſociation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the contracting parties to conceal it; and their zeal, always apt to ſuſpect and to dread, even to exceſs, every thing that ſeemed to threaten religion, inſtantly took the alarm as if the Emperor had been juſt ready to enter upon the execution of ſome formidable plan for the extirpation of their opinions. In order to diſappoint this, they held frequent conſultations, they courted the Kings of France and England with great aſſiduity, and even began to think of raiſing the reſpective contingents both in men and money which they were obliged to furniſh by the treaty of Smalkalde. But it was not long before they were convinced that theſe apprehenſions were without foundation, and that the Emperor, to whom repoſe was abſolutely neceſſary after efforts ſo much beyond his ſtrength in the war with France, had no thoughts of diſturbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof of this, at an interview with the Proteſtant Princes in Francfort, his ambaſſadors agreed that all conceſſions in their favour, particularly thoſe contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, ſhould continue in force for fifteen months; that during this period all proceedings of the Imperial chamber againſt them ſhould be ſuſpended; that a conference ſhould be held by a few divines of each party, in order to diſcuſs the points

April 19.

[p] Seck. I. iii. 171. Recueil de Traitez.

points in controverſy, and to propoſe articles of accommodation which ſhould be laid before the next diet. Though the Emperor, that he might not irritate the Pope, who remonſtrated againſt the firſt part of this agreement as impolitick, and againſt the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was obſerved with conſiderable exactneſs, and greatly ſtrengthened the baſis of that eccleſiaſtical liberty, for which the Proteſtants contended [q].

1539.

A few days after the convention at Francfort, George Duke of Saxony died, and his death was an event of great advantage to the Reformation. That Prince, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, poſſeſſed, as marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, extenſive territories, comprehending Dreſden, Leipſick, and other cities now the moſt conſiderable in the electorate. From the firſt dawn of the Reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral Princes were its protectors, and had carried on his oppoſition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a virulence inſpired by perſonal antipathy to Luther, and imbittered by the domeſtick animoſity ſubſiſting between him and the other branch of his family. By his death without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to his brother Henry, whoſe attachment to the Proteſtant religion ſurpaſſed, if poſſible, that of his predeceſſor to popery. Henry no ſooner took poſſeſſion of his new dominions, than, diſregarding a clauſe in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the Emperor and King of the Romans, if his brother ſhould attempt to make any innovation

April 24. Reformation eſtabliſhed in every part of Saxony.

[q] F. Paul, 82. Sleid. 247. Seck. l. iii. 200.

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vation in religion, he invited ſome Proteſtant divines, and among them Luther himſelf, to Leipſick. By their advice and aſſiſtance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole ſyſtem of ancient rites, eſtabliſhing the full exerciſe of the reformed religion, with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects, who had long wiſhed for this change, which the authority of their Duke alone had hitherto prevented [r]. This revolution delivered the Proteſtants from the danger to which they were expoſed by having an inveterate enemy ſituated in the middle of their territories; and their dominions now extended, in one great and almoſt unbroken line, from the ſhore of the Baltick to the banks of the Rhine.

A mutiny of the Imperial troops.

Soon after the concluſion of the truce at Nice, an event happened, which ſatisfied all Europe that Charles had proſecuted the war to the utmoſt extremity that the ſtate of his affairs would permit. Vaſt arrears were due to his troops, whom he had long amuſed with vain hopes and promiſes. As they now foreſaw that little attention would be paid to their demands, when by the re-eſtabliſhment of peace their ſervices became of leſs importance, they loſt all patience, broke out into an open mutiny, and declared that they thought themſelves entitled to ſeize by violence what was detained from them contrary to all juſtice. Nor was this ſpirit of ſedition confined to one part of the Emperor's dominions; the mutiny was almoſt as general as the grievance which gave riſe to it. The ſoldiers in the Milaneſe plundered the open country without controul, and filled the capital itſelf with conſternation. Thoſe in garriſon at Goletta threatened to give up that important fortreſs

[r] Sleiden, 249.

treſs to Barbaroſſa. In Sicily the troops proceeded to ſtill greater exceſſes; having chaced away their officers, they elected others in their ſtead, defeated a body of men whom the viceroy ſent againſt them, took and pillaged ſeveral cities, conducting themſelves all the while, in ſuch a manner, that their operations reſembled rather the regular proceedings of a concerted rebellion, than the raſhneſs and violence of a military mutiny. But by the addreſs and prudence of the generals, who, partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their maſter, partly by extorting large ſums from the cities in their reſpective provinces, raiſed what was ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears of the ſoldiers, theſe inſurrections were quelled. The greater part of the troops was diſbanded, ſuch a number only being kept in pay as was neceſſary for garriſoning the principal towns, and protecting the ſea-coaſts from the inſults of the Turks[s].

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Cortes of Caſtile held at Toledo.

It was happy for the Emperor that the abilities of his generals extricated him out of theſe difficulties, which it exceeded his own power to have removed. He had depended, as his chief reſource for diſcharging the arrears due to his ſoldiers, upon the ſubſidies which he expected from his Caſtilian ſubjects. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Toledo, and having repreſented to them the great expence of his military operations, together with the vaſt debts in which theſe had neceſſarily involved him, he propoſed to levy ſuch ſupplies as the preſent exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general exciſe on commodities. But the Spaniards

[s] Jovii Hiſtor. l. xxxvii. 203. c. Sandov. Ferreras, ix. 209.

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1539. The complaints and diſſatisfaction of that aſſembly.

Spaniards already felt themſelves oppreſſed with a load of taxes unknown to their anceſtors. They had often complained that their country was drained not only of its wealth but of its inhabitants, in order to proſecute quarrels in which it was not intereſted, and to fight battles from which it could reap no benefit; and they determined not to add voluntarily to their own burdens, or to furniſh the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes no leſs ruinous to the kingdom than moſt of thoſe which he had hitherto carried on. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence againſt the impoſition propoſed, as an encroachment upon the valuable and diſtinguiſhing privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the repreſentatives of the cities concerning the ſtate of the nation. They contended that if Charles would imitate the example of his predeceſſors, who had reſided conſtantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himſelf in a multiplicity of tranſactions foreign to the concerns of his Spaniſh dominions, the ſtated revenues of the crown would be fully ſufficient to defray the neceſſary expences of government. They repreſented to him that it would be unjuſt to lay new burdens upon the people, while this prudent and effectual method of re-eſtabliſhing public credit, and ſecuring national opulence, was totally neglected [t]. Charles, after employing arguments, entreaties, and promiſes, but without ſucceſs, in order to overcome their obſtinacy, diſmiſſed the aſſembly with great indignation. From that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to theſe aſſemblies, on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the publick

The ancient conſtitution of the Cortes ſubverted.

[t] Sandov Hiſt. vol. ii. 269.

lick taxes, ſhould not claim any vote in laying them on. None have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities. Theſe, to the number of thirty-ſix, being two from each community, form an aſſembly which bears no reſemblance either in power or dignity or independence to the ancient Cortes, and are abſolutely at the devotion of the court in all their determinations [u]. Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Caſtilian nobles had ſupported the regal prerogative, in oppoſition to the claims of the commons during the commotions in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, proved at laſt fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depreſs one of the orders in the ſtate, they deſtroyed that balance to which the conſtitution owed its ſecurity, and put it in his power, or in that of his ſucceſſors, to humble the other, and to ſtrip it of its moſt valuable privileges.

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At that time, however, the Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed extraordinary power as well as privileges, which they exerciſed and defended with an haughtineſs peculiar to themſelves. Of this the Emperor himſelf had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As he was returning one day from a tournament accompanied by moſt of the nobility, one of the ſerjeants of the court, out of officious zeal to clear the way for the Emperor, ſtruck the Duke of Infantado's horſe with his batton, which that haughty grandee reſenting, drew his ſword, beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at ſuch an inſolent deed in his preſence, immediately ordered Ronquillo the judge of the court to

The Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed high privileges.

[u] Sandov. ibid. La Science du Gouvernement, par M. de Real, tom. ii. p. 102.

Book VI. 1539. to arreſt the Duke; Ronquillo advanced to execute his charge, when the conſtable of Caſtile interpoſing, checked him, claimed the right of juriſdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles preſent were ſo pleaſed with the boldneſs of the conſtable in aſſerting the rights of their order, that deſerting the Emperor, they attended him to his houſe with infinite applauſes, and Charles returned to the palace without any perſon along with him but the cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, however ſenſible of the affront, ſaw the danger of irritating a jealous and high ſpirited order of men, whom the ſlighteſt appearance of offence might drive to the moſt unwarrantable extremes. For that reaſon, inſtead of ſtraining at any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, he prudently connived at the arrogance of a body too potent for him to control, and ſent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what puniſhment he pleaſed on the perſon who had affronted him. The Duke conſidering this as a full reparation to his honour, inſtantly forgave the officer; beſtowing on him, beſides, a conſiderable preſent as a compenſation for his wound. Thus the affair was entirely forgotten[x]; nor would it have deſerved to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking example of the haughty and independent ſpirit of the Spaniſh nobles in that age, as well as an inſtance of the Emperor's dexterity in accommodating his conduct to the circumſtances in which he was placed.

Inſurrection at Ghent. CHARLES was far from diſcovering any ſuch condeſcenſion or lenity towards the citizens of Ghent, who not long after broke out into open rebellion

[x] Sandov. ii. 274. Ferraras, ix. 212. Miniana, 113.

rebellion againſt his government. An event which happened in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, gave occaſion to this raſh inſurrection ſo fatal to that flouriſhing city. At that time the Queen dowager of Hungary, governeſs of the Netherlands, having received orders from her brother to invade France with all the forces which ſhe could raiſe, ſhe aſſembled the ſtates of the United Provinces, and obtained from them a ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand florins, to defray the expence of that undertaking. Of this ſum, the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its proportion. But the citizens of Ghent, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, averſe to a war with France, with which they carried on an extenſive and gainful commerce, refuſed to pay their quota, and contended, that in conſequence of ſtipulations between them and the anceſtors of their preſent ſovereign the Emperor, no tax could be levied upon them, unleſs they had given their expreſs conſent to the impoſition of it. The governeſs, on the other hand, maintained, that as the ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand florins had been granted by the States of Flanders, of which their repreſentatives were members, they were bound, of courſe, to conform to what was enacted by them; as it is the firſt principle in ſociety, on which the tranquillity and order of government depend, that the inclinations of the minority muſt be over-ruled by the judgment and deciſion of the ſuperior number.

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Pretenſions of the citizens.

THE citizens of Ghent, however, were not willing to relinquiſh a privilege of ſuch high importance as that which they claimed. Having been accuſtomed, under the government of the houſe

Proceedings againſt them.

Book VI. houſe of Burgundy, to enjoy extenſive immunities, and to be treated with much indulgence, they diſdained to ſacrifice, to the delegated power of a regent, thoſe rights and liberties which they had often and ſucceſsfully aſſerted againſt their greateſt Princes. The Queen, though ſhe endeavoured at firſt to ſooth them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various conceſſions, was at laſt ſo much irritated by the obſtinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that ſhe ordered all the citizens of Ghent, on whom ſhe could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arreſted. But this raſh action made an impreſſion very different from what ſhe expected, on men, whoſe minds were agitated with all the violent paſſions which indignation at oppreſſion and zeal for liberty inſpire. Leſs affected with the danger of their friends and companions, than irritated at the governeſs, they openly deſpiſed her authority, and ſent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at ſuch a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights againſt the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconſiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy againſt the governeſs; they joined, however, in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax ſo long, that they might have it in their power to ſend ſome of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their ſovereign. This ſhe granted with ſome difficulty. But Charles received their commiſſioners with an haughtineſs to which they were not accuſtomed from their ancient Princes; and enjoining them to yield the ſame reſpectful obedience to his ſiſter, which they owed to him in perſon, remitted

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mitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a ſtanding committee of the parliament or ſtates of the county, and which poſſeſſes the ſupreme juriſdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal [y], pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill-founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay their proportion of the tax.

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They take arms, and offer to ſubmit to France.

ENRAGED at this deciſion, which they conſidered as notoriouſly unjuſt, and rendered deſperate on ſeeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner, drove ſuch of the nobility as reſided among them out of the city; ſecured ſeveral of the Emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accuſed of having ſtolen or deſtroyed the record, that contained the privileges of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; choſe a council to which they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifications; and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their ſovereign [z]. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the formidable forces by which they might expect ſoon to be attacked, they ſent ſome of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, and to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of Ghent, but to aſſiſt him with all their

[y] Deſcrittione di tutti paeſi baſſi di Lud. Guicciardini. Ant. 1571. fol p. 53. [z] Memoires ſur la revolte de Gantois en 1539, par Jean d'Hollander, ecrit en 1547. A la Haye 1747. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xi. p. 262. Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. p. 282.

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their forces in recovering thoſe provinces in the Netherlands, which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been ſo lately reunited to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected propoſition coming from perſons who had it in their power to have performed inſtantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute ſo effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened vaſt as well as alluring proſpects to Francis's ambition. The counties of Flanders and Artois were of greater value than the duchy of Milan, which he had ſo long laboured to acquire with paſſionate but fruitleſs deſire; their ſituation with reſpect to France rendered it more eaſy to conquer or to defend them; and they might be formed into a ſeparate principality for the Duke of Orleans, no leſs ſuitable to his dignity than that which his father aimed at obtaining. To this, the Flemings, who were acquainted with the French manners and government, would not have been averſe; and his own ſubjects, weary of their deſtructive expeditions into Italy, would have turned their arms towards this quarter with more good-will, and with greater vigour. Several conſiderations, nevertheleſs, prevented Francis from laying hold of this opportunity, the moſt favourable in appearance which had ever preſented itſelf, of extending his dominions or diſtreſſing the Emperor. From the time of their interview at Aigues-mortes, Charles had continued to court the King of France with wonderful attention; and often flattered him with hopes of gratifying at laſt his wiſhes concerning the Milaneſe, by granting the inveſtiture of it either to him or to one of his ſons. But though theſe hopes and promiſes were thrown out with no other intention than to detach him from his confederacy with the grand Seignior,

Francis declines their offer.

or

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or to raiſe ſuſpicions in Solyman's mind by the appearance of a cordial and familiar intercourſe ſubſiſting between the courts of Paris and Madrid, Francis was weak enough to catch at the ſhadow by which he had been ſo often deceived, and from eagerneſs to ſeize it, relinquiſhed what muſt have proved a more ſubſtantial acquiſition. Beſides this, the Dauphin jealous to exceſs of his brother, and unwilling that a Prince who ſeemed to be of a reſtleſs and enterprizing nature ſhould obtain an eſtabliſhment, which from its ſituation might be conſidered almoſt as a domeſtick one, made uſe of Montmorency, who, by a ſingular piece of good fortune, was at the ſame time the favourite of the father and of the ſon, to defeat the application of the Flemings, and to divert the King from eſpouſing their cauſe. Montmorency, accordingly, repreſented in ſtrong terms, the reputation and power which Francis would acquire by recovering that footing which he had formerly in Italy, and that nothing could be ſo efficacious to overcome the Emperor's averſion to this, as his adhering ſacredly to the truce, and refuſing on this occaſion to countenance his rebellious ſubjects. Francis, apt of himſelf to over-rate the value of the Milaneſe, becauſe he eſtimated it from the length of time as well as from the great efforts which he had employed in order to re-conquer it, and fond of every action which had the appearance of generoſity, aſſented without difficulty to ſentiments ſo agreeable to his own, rejected the propoſitions of the citizens of Ghent, and diſmiſſed their deputies with an harſh anſwer [a].

Communicates their intentions to the Emperor.

Nor ſatisfied with this, by a farther refinement in generoſity, he communicated to the Emperor

[a] Mem. de Bellay, p. 263. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xi. 263.

Book VI. 1539. Emperor his whole negociation with the male-contents, and all that he knew of their ſchemes and intentions[b]. This convincing proof of Francis's diſintereſtedneſs relieved Charles from the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and opened a way to extricate himſelf out of all his difficulties. He had already received full information of all the tranſactions in the Netherlands, and of the rage with which the people of Ghent had taken arms againſt his government. He was thoroughly acquainted with the genius and qualities of his ſubjects in that country; with their love of liberty; their attachment to their ancient privileges and cuſtoms; as well as the invincible obſtinacy with which their minds, ſlow but firm and perſevering, adhered to any meaſure on which they had leiſure to fix. He eaſily ſaw what encouragement and ſupport they might have derived from the aſſiſtance of France; and though now free from any danger on that quarter, he was ſtill ſenſible that ſome immediate as well as vigorous interpoſition was neceſſary, in order to prevent the ſpirit of diſaffection from ſpreading in a country where the number of cities, the multitude of people, together with the great wealth diffuſed among them by commerce, rendered it peculiarly formidable, and would ſupply it with inexhauſtible reſources. No expedient, after long deliberation, appeared to him ſo effectual as his going in perſon to the Netherlands; and the governeſs his ſiſter being of the ſame opinion, warmly ſolicited him to undertake the journey, There were only two different routes which he could take; one by land, through Italy and Germany, the other entirely by ſea, from ſome port in Spain to one in the Low-Countries. But the former was more tedious

Charles's deliberations concerning his journey to the Netherlands.

[b] Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. 284.

dious than ſuited the preſent exigency of his affairs; nor could he in conſiſtency with his dignity or even his ſafety paſs through Germany without ſuch a train both of attendants and of troops, as would have added greatly to the time that he muſt have conſumed in his journey; the latter was dangerous at this ſeaſon, and while he remained uncertain with reſpect to the friendſhip of the King of England, was not to be ventured upon, unleſs under the convoy of a powerful fleet. This perplexing ſituation, in which he was under a neceſſity of chuſing, and did not know what to chuſe, inſpired him at laſt with the ſingular and ſeemingly extravagant thought of paſſing through France, as the moſt expeditious way of reaching the Netherlands. He propoſed in his council to demand Francis's permiſſion for that purpoſe. All his counſellors joined with one voice in condemning the meaſure as no leſs raſh than unprecedented, and which muſt infallibly expoſe him to diſgrace or to danger; to diſgrace, if the demand were rejected in the manner that he had reaſon to expect; to danger, if he put his perſon in the power of an enemy whom he had often offended, who had ancient injuries to revenge, as well as ſubjects of preſent conteſt ſtill remaining undecided. But Charles, who had ſtudied the character of his rival with greater care, and more profound diſcernment than any of his miniſters, perſiſted in his plan, and flattered himſelf that it might be accompliſhed not only without danger to his own perſon, but even without the expence of any conceſſion detrimental to his crown.

Propoſes to paſs through France.

With this view he communicated the matter to the French ambaſſador at his court, and ſent Granvelle his chief miniſter to Paris, in order to

To which Francis conſents.

Book VI. 1539. obtain from Francis permiſſion to paſs through his dominions, and to promiſe that he would ſoon ſettle the affair of the Milaneſe to his ſatisfaction. But at the ſame time he intreated that Francis would not exact any new promiſe, or even inſiſt on former engagements, at this juncture, leſt whatever he ſhould grant, under his preſent circumſtances, might ſeem rather to be extorted by neceſſity, than to flow from friendſhip or the love of juſtice. Francis, inſtead of attending to the ſnare which ſuch a ſlight artifice ſcarcely concealed, was ſo dazzled with the ſplendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generoſity, and ſo pleaſed with the air of ſuperiority which the rectitude and diſintereſtedneſs of his proceedings gave him on this occaſion, that he at once aſſented to all that was demanded. Judging of the Emperor's heart by his own, he imagined that the ſentiments of gratitude, ariſing from the remembrance of good offices and liberal treatment, would determine him more forcibly to fulfil what he had ſo often promiſed, than the moſt preciſe ſtipulations that could be inſerted in any treaty.

His reception in that kingdom.

Upon this, Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the fears and ſuſpicions of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſplendid train of about an hundred perſons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, attended by the conſtable Montmorency. The two Princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hoſtages for the Emperor's ſafety: but this he rejected, declaring that he relied with implicit confidence on the King's honour, and had never demanded nor would accept of any other pledge for his ſecurity.

rity. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the greateſt poſſible magnificence was diſplayed; the magiſtrates preſented him the keys of the gates; the priſon doors were ſet open; and, by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the ſovereign of the country than a ſtranger. The King advanced as far as Chatelrault to meet him; their interview was diſtinguiſhed by the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and preſented to the inhabitants of that city, the extraordinary ſpectacle of two rival Monarchs, whoſe enmity had diſturbed and laid waſte Europe during twenty years, making their ſolemn entry together with all the ſymptoms of a confidential harmony, as if they had forgotten for ever paſt injuries, and would never revive hoſtilities for the future [c].

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CHARLES remained ſix days at Paris; but amidſt the perpetual careſſes of the French court, and the various entertainments contrived to amuſe or to do him honour, he diſcovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, ariſing as much from an apprehenſion of danger which conſtantly oppreſſed him, as from the neceſſity of his preſence in the Low-Countries. Conſcious of the diſingenuity of his own intentions, he trembled when he reflected that ſome fatal accident might betray them to his rival, or lead him to ſuſpect them; and though his artifices to conceal theſe ſhould be ſucceſsful, he could not help fearing that motives of intereſt might at laſt triumph over the ſcruples of honour, and tempt Francis to avail himſelf of the advantage now in his hands. Nor were there wanting perſons among the French miniſters, who

The Emperor's ſolicitude,

[c] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 14. Mem. de Bellay, 264.

Book VI. 1540. who adviſed the King to turn his own arts againſt the Emperor, and as the retribution due for ſo many inſtances of fraud or falſehood, to ſeize and detain his perſon until he granted him full ſatisfaction with regard to all the juſt claims of the French crown. But no conſideration could induce Francis to violate the faith which he had pledged, nor could any argument convince him that Charles, after all the promiſes that he had given, and all the favours which he had received, might ſtill be capable of deceiving him. Full of this falſe confidence he accompanied him to St. Quintin, and the two Princes, who had met him on the borders of Spain, did not take leave of him until he entered his dominions in the Low-Countries.

and diſingenuity.

As ſoon as the Emperor reached his own territories, the French ambaſſadors demanded the January 24. accompliſhment of what he had promiſed concerning the inveſtiture of Milan; but Charles, under the plauſible pretext that his whole attention was then engroſſed by the conſultations neceſſary towards ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Ghent, put off the matter for ſome time. But in order to prevent Francis from ſuſpecting his ſincerity, he ſtill continued to talk of his reſolutions with reſpect to that matter in the ſame ſtrain as when he entered France, and even wrote to the King much to the ſame purpoſe, though in general terms, and with equivocal expreſſions, which he might afterwards explain away or interpret at pleaſure [a].

Reduction of Ghent,

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate citizens of Ghent, deſtitute of leaders capable either of directing their councils, or conducting their troops;

[a] Memoires de Ribier, i. 504.

troops; abandoned by the French King and unſupported by their countrymen; were unable to reſiſt their offended ſovereign, who was ready to advance againſt them with one body of troops which he had raiſed in the Netherlands, with another drawn out of Germany, and a third which had arrived from Spain by ſea. The near approach of danger made them, at laſt, ſo ſenſible of their own folly, that they ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor, imploring his mercy, and offering to ſet open their gates at his approach. Charles, without vouchſafing them any other anſwer, than that he would appear among them as their ſovereign, with the ſceptre and the ſword in his hand, began his march at the head of his troops. Though he choſe to enter the city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birthday, he was touched with nothing of that tenderneſs or indulgence which was natural towards the place of his nativity. Twenty-ſix of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number was ſent into baniſhment; the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiſcated; its ancient form of government was aboliſhed; the nomination of its magiſtrates was veſted for the future in the Emperor and his ſucceſſors; a new ſyſtem of laws and political adminiſtration was preſcribed [b], and in order to bridle the ſeditious ſpirit of the citizens, orders were given to erect a ſtrong citadel, for defraying the expence of which a fine of an hundred and fifty thouſand florins was impoſed on the inhabitants, together with an annual tax of ſix thouſand florins for the ſupport of a garriſon [c]. By theſe rigorous proceedings, Charles not only puniſhed

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and puniſhment of the citizens. April 20.

[b] Les coutumes & loix du Compté de Flandre, par Alex. le Grande, 3 tom. fol. Cambray, 1719, tom. i. p. 169.

[c] Haræi Annales Brabantiæ, vol. i. 617.

Book VI. 1540. puniſhed the citizens of Ghent, but ſet an awful example of ſeverity before his other ſubjects in the Netherlands, whoſe immunities and privileges, partly the effect, partly the cauſe of their extenſive commerce, circumſcribed the royal prerogative within very narrow bounds, and often ſtood in the way of meaſures which he wiſhed to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations.

Charles refuſes to fulfil his engagements to Francis.

CHARLES having thus vindicated and re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the Low-Countries, and being now under no neceſſity of continuing the ſame ſcene of falſehood and diſſimulation with which he had long amuſed Francis, began gradually to throw aſide the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with reſpect to the Milaneſe. At firſt, he eluded the demands of the French ambaſſadors, when they again reminded him of his promiſes; then he propoſed, by way of equivalent for the dutchy of Milan, to grant the Duke of Orleans the inveſtiture of Flanders, clogging the offer, however, with impracticable conditions, or ſuch as he knew would be rejected [d]. At laſt, being driven from all his evaſions and ſubterfuges by their inſiſting for a categorical anſwer, he peremptorily refuſed to give up a territory of ſuch value, or voluntarily to make ſuch a liberal addition to the ſtrength of an enemy by diminiſhing his own power [e]. He denied at the ſame time, that he had ever made any promiſe which could bind him to an action ſo fooliſh, and ſo contrary to his own intereſt [f].

OF all the tranſactions in the Emperor's life, this, without doubt, reflects the greateſt diſhonour on his reputation [g]. Though Charles was

[d] Mem. de Ribier, i. 509, 514. [e] Ribier, i. 519.
[f] Bellay, 365-6. [g] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxix. p. 238. a.

was not extremely ſcrupulous at other times about the means which he employed for accompliſhing his ends, or always obſervant of the ſtrict precepts of veracity and honour, he had hitherto maintained ſome regard for the maxims of that leſs preciſe and rigid morality by which Monarchs think themſelves entitled to regulate their conduct. But, on this occaſion, the ſcheme that he formed of deceiving a generous and open-hearted Prince; the illiberal and mean artifices by which he carried it on; the inſenſibility with which he received all the marks of his friendſhip, as well as the ingratitude with which he requited them; are all equally unbecoming the dignity of his character, and inconſiſtent with the grandeur of his views.

This tranſaction expoſed Francis to as much ſcorn as it did the Emperor to cenſure. After the experience of a long reign, after ſo many opportunities of diſcovering the duplicity and artifices of his rival, the credulous ſimplicity with which he truſted him at this juncture ſeemed to merit no other return than it actually met with. Francis, however, remonſtrated and exclaimed, as if it had been the firſt inſtance in which the Emperor had deceived him. Feeling, as is uſual, the inſult which was offered to his underſtanding ſtill more ſenſibly than the injury done to his intereſt, he diſcovered ſuch reſentment, as made it obvious that he would lay hold on the firſt opportunity of being revenged, and that a war, no leſs rancorous than that which had ſo lately raged, would ſoon break out anew in Europe.

The Pope authorizes the inſtitution of the Order of Jeſuits.

This year is rendered memorable by the eſtabliſhment of the Order of Jeſuits; a body whoſe influence

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influence on eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs hath been ſo conſiderable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government juſtly merits a place in hiſtory. When men take a view of the rapid progreſs of this ſociety towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it had been governed; when they attend to the perſevering and ſyſtematic ſpirit with which its ſchemes have been carried on; they are apt to aſcribe ſuch a ſingular inſtitution to the ſuperior wiſdom of its founder, and to ſuppoſe that he had formed and digeſted his plan with profound policy. But the Jeſuits, as well as the other monaſtick orders, are indebted for the exiſtence of their order not to the wiſdom of their founder, but to his enthuſiaſm. Ignatio Loyola, whom I have already mentioned on occaſion of the wound which he received in defending Pampeluna[h], was a fanatick diſtinguiſhed by extravagancies in ſentiment and conduct, no leſs incompatible with the maxims of ſober reaſon, than repugnant to the ſpirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and viſionary ſchemes, in which his enthuſiaſm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romiſh ſaints; but are unworthy of notice in hiſtory.

Fanaticiſm of Loyola its founder.

PROMPTED by this fanatical ſpirit, or incited by the love of power and diſtinction, from which ſuch pretenders to ſuperior ſanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan, which he formed of its conſtitution and laws, was ſuggeſted, as he gave out, and as his followers ſtill teach, by the immediate inſpiration of heaven[i]. But

[h] Vol. ii. Book ii. p. 192. [i] Compte Rendu des Conſtitutions des Jeſuites, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar, p. 285.

But notwithſtanding this high pretenſion, his deſign met at firſt with violent oppoſition. The Pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the ſanction of his authority to confirm the inſtitution, referred his petition to a committee of Cardinals. They repreſented the eſtabliſhment to be unneceſſary as well as dangerous, and Paul refuſed to grant his approbation of it. At laſt, Loyola removed all his ſcruples by an offer which it was impoſſible for any Pope to reſiſt. He propoſed that beſides the three vows of poverty, of chaſtity, and of monaſtick obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his ſociety ſhould take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themſelves to go whitherſoever he ſhould command for the ſervice of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their ſupport. At a time when the papal authority had received ſuch a ſhock by the revolt of ſo many nations from the Romiſh church; at a time when every part of the popiſh ſyſtem was attacked with ſo much violence and ſucceſs, the acquiſition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might ſet in oppoſition to all its enemies, was an object of the higheſt conſequence. Paul, inſtantly perceiving this, confirmed the inſtitution of the Jeſuits by his bull; granted the moſt ample privileges to the members of the ſociety; and appointed Loyola to be the firſt general of the order. The event hath fully juſtified Paul's diſcernment, in expecting ſuch beneficial conſequences to the See of Rome from this inſtitution. In leſs than half a century, the ſociety obtained eſtabliſhments in every country that adhered to the Roman catholick Church; its power and wealth increaſed amazingly; the number of its members became great

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The Pope's motives for confirming the order.

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great; their character as well as accompliſhments were ſtill greater; and the Jeſuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of the Romiſh faith, as the moſt able and enterprizing order in the church.

Its conſtitution and genius merit particular attention.

THE conſtitution and laws of the ſociety were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who ſucceeded Loyola, men far ſuperior to their maſter in abilities, and in the ſcience of government. They framed that ſyſtem of profound and artful policy which diſtinguiſhes the order. The large infuſion of fanaticiſm, mingled with its regulations, ſhould be imputed to Loyola its founder. Many circumſtances concurred in giving a peculiarity of character to the order of Jeſuits, and in forming the members of it not only to take greater part in the affairs of the world than any other body of monks, but to acquire ſuperior influence in the conduct of them.

The object of the order ſingular.

THE primary object of almoſt all the monaſtick orders is to ſeparate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the ſolitude and ſilence of the cloiſter, the monk is called to work out his own ſalvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its tranſactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jeſuits are taught to conſider themſelves as formed for action. They are choſen ſoldiers, bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to inſtruct the ignorant; whatever can be of uſe to reclaim or to oppoſe the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leiſure for

for this active ſervice, they are totally exempted from thoſe functions, the performance of which is the chief buſineſs of other monks. They appear in no proceſſions; they practiſe no rigorous auſterities; they do not conſume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices [k]. But they are required to attend to all the tranſactions of the world, on account of the influence which theſe may have upon religion; they are directed to ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendſhip [l]; and by the very conſtitution as well as genius of the order, a ſpirit of action and intrigue is infuſed into all its members.

Peculiarities in the form of its policy, particularly with reſpect to the power of the general.

As the object of the ſociety of Jeſuits differed from that of the other monaſtick orders, the diverſity was no leſs in the form of its government. The other orders are to be conſidered as voluntary aſſociations, in which whatever affects the whole body, is regulated by the common ſuffrage of all its members. The executive power is veſted in the perſons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole ſociety; the legiſlative authority reſides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; ſuch as reſpect the whole order are conſidered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profeſſion, appointed that the government of his order ſhould be purely monarchical. A general, choſen for life by deputies from the ſeveral provinces, poſſeſſed power that was ſupreme and independent, extending

[k] Compte Rendu, par M. de Monclar, p. xiii. 290. Sur la deſtruct. des Jeſuites, par M. D'Alembert, p. 42.

[l] Compte par M. de Monclar, p. xii.

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tending to every perſon, and to every caſe. He, by his ſole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the ſociety, and could remove them at pleaſure. In him was veſted the ſovereign adminiſtration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his diſpoſal; and, by his uncontrolable mandate, he could impoſe on them any taſk, or employ them in what ſervice ſoever he pleaſed. To his commands they were required to yield not only outward obedience, but to reſign up to him the inclinations of their own wills, and the ſentiments of their own underſtandings. They were to liſten to his injunctions, as if they had been uttered by Chriſt himſelf. Under his direction, they were to be mere paſſive inſtruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcaſſes incapable of reſiſtance [m]. Such a ſingular form of policy could not fail to impreſs its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not, in the annals of mankind, any example of ſuch a perfect deſpotiſm, exèrciſed not over monks ſhut up in the cells of a convent, but over men diſperſed among all the nations of the earth.

Circumſtances which enable him to exerciſe it with the greateſt advantage.

As the conſtitutions of the order veſt, in the General, ſuch abſolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with reſpect to the character and abilities of his ſubjects. Every novice who offers himſelf as a candidate for entering into the order, is obliged to *manifeſt his conſcience* to the ſuperior,

[m] Compte Rendu au Parlem. de Bretagne, par M. de Chalotais, p. 41, &c. Compte par M. de Monclar. 83. 185. 343.

ſuperior, or a perſon appointed by him; and is required to confeſs not only his ſins and defects, but to diſcover the inclinations, the paſſions, and the bent of his ſoul. This manifeſtation muſt be renewed every ſix months [n]. The ſociety not ſatisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermoſt receſſes of the heart, directs each member to obſerve the words and actions of the novices; they are conſtituted ſpies upon their conduct; and are bound to diſcloſe every thing of importance concerning them to the ſuperior. In order that this ſcrutiny into their character may be as complete as poſſible, a long noviciate muſt expire, during which they paſs through the ſeveral gradations of ranks in the ſociety, and they muſt have attained the full age of thirty-three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *profeſſed* members [o]. By theſe various methods, the ſuperiors, under whoſe immediate inſpection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their diſpoſitions and talents. In order that the General, who is the ſoul that animates and moves the whole ſociety, may have under his eye every thing neceſſary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the ſeveral houſes are obliged to tranſmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inſpection. In theſe they deſcend into minute details with reſpect to the character of each perſon, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is beſt

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[n] Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 121, &c. [o] Compte par M. de Moncl. 215. 241. Sur la deſtr. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alemb. p. 39.

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beſt fitted [p]. Theſe reports, when digeſted and arranged, are entered into regiſters, kept of purpoſe that the General may, at one comprehenſive view, ſurvey the ſtate of the ſociety in every corner of the earth; obſerve the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus chooſe, with perfect information, the inſtruments, which his abſolute power can employ in any ſervice for which he thinks meet to deſtine them [q].

Progreſs of the power and influence of the order.

As it was the profeſſed intention of the order of Jeſuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the ſalvation of men, this engaged them, of courſe, in many active functions. From their firſt inſtitution, they conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being

[p] M. de Chalotais has made a calculation of the number of theſe reports, which the General of the Jeſuits muſt annually receive according to the regulations of the ſociety. Theſe amount in all to 6584. If this ſum be divided by 37, the number of provinces in the order, it appears that 177 reports concerning the ſtate of each province are tranſmitted to Rome annually. Compte, p. 52. Beſides this, there may be extraordinary letters, or ſuch as are ſent by the monitors or ſpies whom the General and Provincials entertain in each houſe. Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 431. Hiſt. des Jeſuites, Amſt. 1761. tom. iv. p. 56. The provincials and heads of houſes not only report concerning the members of the ſociety, but are bound to give the General an account of the civil affairs of the country wherein they are ſettled, as far as the knowledge of theſe may be of benefit to religion. This condition may extend to every particular; ſo that the General is furniſhed with full information concerning the tranſactions of every Prince and ſtate in the world. Compte par M. de Moncl. 443. Hiſt. des Jeſuit. ibid. p. 58. When the affairs with reſpect to which the provincials or rectors write are of importance, they are directed to uſe cyphers, and each of them has a particular cypher from the General. Compte par M. Charlotais, p. 54.

[q] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215. 439.—Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52. 222.

being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors; they preached frequently in order to inſtruct the people; they ſet out as miſſionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the ſociety had the addreſs to avail themſelves of every circumſtance in its favour, and, in a ſhort time, the number as well as influence of its members increaſed wonderfully. Before the expiration of the ſixteenth century, the Jeſuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholick country in Europe. They had become the confeſſors of almoſt all its monarchs; a function of no ſmall importance in any reign, but under a weak Prince, ſuperior even to that of miniſter. They were the ſpiritual guides of almoſt every perſon eminent for rank or power. They poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterpriſing body of men might derive from all theſe circumſtances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an aſcendant over them in their advanced years. They poſſeſſed, at different periods, the direction of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The General, by means of the extenſive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the moſt perfect diſcernment, and by means of his abſolute power could carry them on with the utmoſt vigour and effect [r].

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[r] When Loyola, in the year 1540, petitioned the Pope to authorize the inſtitution of the order, he had only ten diſciples.

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1540 Progreſs of its wealth.

TOGETHER with the power of the order, its wealth continued to increaſe. Various expedients were deviſed for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample poſſeſſions in every catholick country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its publick buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the moſt opulent of the monaſtick fraternities. Beſides the ſources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jeſuits poſſeſſed one which was peculiar to themſelves. Under pretext of promoting the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and of facilitating the ſupport of their miſſionaries, they obtained a ſpecial licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In conſequence of this, they engaged in an extenſive and lucrative commerce, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. They opened warehouſes in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not ſatisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial ſocieties, and aimed at obtaining ſettlements. They acquired poſſeſſion, accordingly, of a large and fertile province in the ſouthern continent of America, and reigned as ſovereigns over ſome hundred thouſand ſubjects [s].

UNHAPPILY

diſciples. But in the year 1608, ſixty-eight years after their firſt inſtitution, the number of Jeſuits had increaſed to ten thouſand five hundred and eighty-one. In the year 1710, the order poſſeſſed twenty-four *profeſſed* houſes; fifty-nine houſes of probation; three hundred and forty reſidencies; ſix hundred and twelve colleges; two hundred miſſions; one hundred and fifty ſeminaries and boarding-ſchools; and conſiſted of 19,998 Jeſuits. Hiſt. des Jeſuites, tom. i. p. 20.

[s] Hiſt. des Jeſ. iv. 168——196, &c.

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UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vaſt influence which the order of Jeſuits acquired by all theſe different means, has been often exerted with the moſt pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that diſcipline obſerved by the ſociety in forming its members, and ſuch the fundamental maxims in its conſtitution, that every Jeſuit was taught to regard the intereſt of the order as the capital object, to which every conſideration was to be ſacrificed. This ſpirit of attachment to their order, the moſt ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men [t], is the characteriſtic principle of the Jeſuits, and ſerves as a key to the genius of their policy, as well as the peculiarities in their ſentiments and conduct.

Pernicious effects of theſe on civil ſociety.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the ſociety, that its members ſhould poſſeſs an aſcendant over perſons in high rank or of great power, the deſire of acquiring and preſerving ſuch a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the Jeſuits to propagate a ſyſtem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itſelf to the paſſions of men, which juſtifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almoſt every action that the moſt audacious or crafty politician would wiſh to perpetrate.

As the proſperity of the order was intimately connected with the preſervation of the papal authority, the Jeſuits influenced by the ſame principle of attachment to the intereſts of their ſociety, have been the moſt zealous patrons of thoſe doctrines, which tend to exalt eccleſiaſtical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a juriſdiction

[t] Comte par M. de Moncl. p. 285.

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diction as extenſive and abſolute as was claimed by the moſt preſumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They have contended for the entire independence of eccleſiaſticks on the civil magiſtrate. They have publiſhed ſuch tenets concerning the duty of oppoſing Princes who were enemies of the catholick faith, as countenanced the moſt atrocious crimes, and tended to diſſolve all the ties which connect ſubjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it ſtood forth in defence of the Romiſh church againſt the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this diſtinction, have conſidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progreſs, of the Proteſtants. They have made uſe of every art, and have employed every weapon againſt them. They have ſet themſelves in oppoſition to every gentle or tolerating meaſure in their favour. They have inceſſantly ſtirred up againſt them all the rage of eccleſiaſtical and civil perſecution.

Monks of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the ſame pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconſiſtent with the order and happineſs of civil ſociety. But they, from reaſons which are obvious, have either delivered ſuch opinions with greater reſerve, or have propagated them with leſs ſucceſs. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that the Jeſuits may juſtly be conſidered as reſponſible for moſt of the pernicious effects ariſing from that corrupt and dangerous caſuiſtry, from thoſe extravagant tenets concerning eccleſiaſtical power, and from that intolerant ſpirit, which

which have been the disgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought so many calamities upon civil society [u]. Book VI. 1540.

But amidst many bad consequences flowing from the institution of this order, mankind, it must be acknowledged, have derived from it some considerable advantages. As the Jesuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their first attempts to establish colleges for the reception of students were violently opposed by the universities in different countries, it became necessary for them, as the most effectual method of acquiring the publick favour, to surpass their rivals in science and industry. This prompted them to cultivate the study of ancient literature with extraordinary ardour. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the instruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed so much towards the progress of polite learning, that on this account they have merited well of society. Nor has the order of Jesuits been successful only in teaching the elements of literature; it has produced likewise eminent masters in many branches of science, and can alone boast of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together [x]. Some advantages resulting from the institution of this order. Particularly to literature.

But

[u] Encyclopedie, Art. *Jesuites*, tom. viii. 513.

[x] M. d'Alembert has observed, that though the Jesuits have made extraordinary progress in erudition of every species; though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquaries, and critics; though they have even formed some orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whose mind was so much enlightened with sound knowledge, as to merit the name of a philosopher. But it seems to be the unavoidable effect of monastick education to contract and fetter

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1540. More especially from the settlement of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

But it is in the new world that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species. The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe had nothing in view but to plunder, to enslave, and to extirminate its inhabitants. The Jesuits alone have made humanity the object of their settling there. About the beginning of the last century they obtained admission into the fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the bottom of the mountains of Potosi, to the confines of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the banks of the river de la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a state little different from that which takes place among men when they first begin to unite together; strangers to the arts; subsisting precariously by hunting or fishing; and hardly acquainted with the first principles of subordination and government. The Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilize these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houses. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and

fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the interest of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens; the habit of implicit obedience to the will of a superior, together with the frequent return of the wearisome and frivolous duties of the cloister, debase his faculties, and extinguish that generosity of sentiment and spirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling justly with respect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only person educated in a cloister, that ever was altogether superior to its prejudices, or who viewed the transactions of men, and reasoned concerning the interests of society, with the enlarged sentiments of a philosopher, with the discernment of a man conversant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

and manufactures. They made them taſte the ſweets of ſociety, and accuſtomed them to the bleſſings of ſecurity and order. Theſe people became the ſubjects of their benefactors, who have governed them with a tender attention, reſembling that with which a father directs his children. Reſpected and beloved almoſt to adoration, a few Jeſuits preſided over ſome hundred thouſand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour, not for himſelf alone, but for the publick. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their induſtry of every ſpecies, were depoſited in common ſtorehouſes, from which each individual received every thing neceſſary for the ſupply of his wants. By this inſtitution, almoſt all the paſſions which diſturb the peace of ſociety, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguiſhed. A few magiſtrates, choſen by the Indians themſelves, watched over the publick tranquillity, and ſecured obedience to the laws. The ſanguinary puniſhments frequent under other governments were unknown. An admonition from a Jeſuit, a ſlight mark of infamy, or, on ſome ſingular occaſion, a few laſhes with a whip, were ſufficient to maintain good order among theſe innocent and happy people [y].

Even here the ambition and policy of the order diſcernible.

But even in this meritorious effort of the Jeſuits for the good of mankind, the genius and ſpirit of their order have mingled and are diſcernible. They plainly aimed at eſtabliſhing in Paraguay an independent empire, ſubject to the ſociety alone, and which, by the ſuperior excellence

y Hiſt. du Paraguay par Pere de Charlevoix, tom ii. 42, &c. Voyage au Perou par Don G. Juan & D. Ant. de Ulloa, tom. i. 540, &c. Par. 4to. 1752.

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lence of its conſtitution and police, could ſcarcely have failed to extend its dominion over all the ſouthern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portugueſe in the adjacent ſettlements from acquiring any dangerous influence over the people within the limits of the province ſubject to the ſociety, the Jeſuits endeavoured to inſpire the Indians with hatred and contempt of theſe nations. They cut off all intercourſe between their ſubjects and the Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſettlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from entering their territories. When they were obliged to admit any perſon in a publick character from the neighbouring governments, they did not permit him to have any converſation with their ſubjects; and no Indian was allowed even to enter the houſe where theſe ſtrangers reſided, unleſs in the preſence of a Jeſuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as poſſible, they induſtriouſly avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spaniſh, or of any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the univerſal language throughout their dominions. As all theſe precautions, without military force, would have been inſufficient to have rendered their empire ſecure and permanent, they inſtructed their ſubjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly diſciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines ſtored with all the implements of war. Thus they eſtabliſhed an army ſo numerous and well-appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few ſickly and ill-diſciplined battalions

lions compoſed all the military force kept on foot by the Spaniards or Portugueſe [z]. Book VI. 1540.

THE Jeſuits gained no inconſiderable degree of power during the reign of Charles V. who, with his uſual ſagacity, diſcerned the dangerous tendency of the inſtitution, and checked its progreſs [a]. But as the order was founded in the period of which I write the hiſtory, and as the age to which I addreſs this work hath ſeen its fall, the view which I have exhibited of the laws and genius of this formidable body will not, I hope, be unacceptable to my readers; eſpecially as one circumſtance has enabled me to enter into this detail with particular advantage. Europe had obſerved, for two centuries, the ambition and power of the order. But while it felt many fatal effects of theſe, it could not fully diſcern the cauſes to which they were to be imputed. It was unacquainted with many of the ſingular regulations in the political conſtitution or government of the Jeſuits, which formed the enterprizing ſpirit of intrigue that diſtinguiſhed its members, and elevated the body itſelf to ſuch a height of power. It was a fundamental maxim with the Jeſuits, from their firſt inſtitution, not to publiſh the rules of their order. Theſe they kept concealed as an impenetrable myſtery. They never communicated them to ſtrangers; nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refuſed to produce them when required by courts of juſtice [b]; and by a ſtrange ſoleciſm in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the eſtabliſhment of an order of men, whoſe conſtitution and

Reaſon for giving ſo full a view of the government and progreſs of the order.

[z] Voyage de Juan & de Ulloa, tom. i. 549. Recueil des toutes les Pieces qui ont paru ſur les Affaires des Jeſuites en Portugal, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

[a] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 312. [b] Hiſt. de Jeſ. tom. iii. 236, &c. Compte par M. de Chalot, p. 38.

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and laws were concealed with a ſolicitude, which alone was a good reaſon for having excluded them. During the proſecutions lately carried on againſt them in Portugal and France, the Jeſuits have been ſo inconſiderate as to produce the myſterious volumes of their inſtitute. By the aid of theſe authentick records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the ſources of their power inveſtigated with a degree of certainty and preciſion, which, previous to that event, it was impoſſible to attain [c]. But as I have pointed out the dangerous tendency of the conſtitution and ſpirit of the order with the freedom becoming an hiſtorian, the candour and impartiality no leſs requiſite in that character call on me to add one obſervation, That no claſs of regular clergy in the Romiſh church has been more eminent for decency, and even purity of manners, than the major part of the order of Jeſuits [d]. The maxims of an intriguing, ambitious, intereſted policy, might influence thoſe who governed the ſociety, and might even corrupt the heart, and pervert the conduct of ſome individuals, while the greater number, engaged in literary purſuits, or employed in the functions of religion, was left to the guidance of thoſe common principles which reſtrain men from vice,

[c] The greater part of my information concerning the government and laws of the order of Jeſuits, I have derived from the reports of M. de Chalotais and M. de Monclar. I reſt not my narrative, however, upon the authority even of theſe reſpectable magiſtrates, and elegant writers, but upon innumerable paſſages which they have extracted from the conſtitutions of the order, depoſited in their hands. Hoſpinian, a Proteſtant Divine of Zurich, in his *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica*, printed A. D. 1619, publiſhed a ſmall part of the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits, of which by ſome accident he had got a copy: p. 13—54.

[d] Sur la deſtruct. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alembert, p. 55.

vice, and excite them to what is becoming and laudable. The cauſes which occaſioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumſtances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent obſerver of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this hiſtory. Book VI. 1540.

Affairs of Germany.

No ſooner had Charles re-eſtabliſhed order in the Low-Countries, than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Proteſtants preſſed him earneſtly to appoint that conference between a ſelect number of the divines of each party, which had been ſtipulated in the convention at Francfort. The Pope conſidered ſuch an attempt to examine or decide the points in diſpute as derogatory to his right of being the ſupreme judge in controverſy; and being convinced that it would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, he employed every art to prevent the meeting. The Emperor, however, finding it more for his intereſt to ſooth the Germans, than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonſtrances. In a diet held at Haguenaw, matters were ripened for the conference, In another diet aſſembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one ſide, and Eckius on the other, ſuſtaining the principal part in the diſpute; but after they had made ſome progreſs, though without concluding any thing, it was ſuſpended by the Emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater ſolemnity in his own preſence in a diet ſummoned to meet at Ratiſbon. This aſſembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous

A conference between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Divines, June 25. Dec. 6.

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vigorous and decisive. By the consent of both parties, the Emperor was entrusted with the power of nominating the persons who should manage the conference, which it was agreed should be conducted not in the form of a public disputation, but as a friendly scrutiny of examination into the articles which had given rise to the present controversies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper and Pflug, on the part of the Catholics; Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, on that of the Protestants; all men of distinguished reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for their moderation, as well as desirous of peace. As they were about to begin their consultations, the Emperor put into their hands a book, composed, as he said, by a learned divine in the Low-Countries, with such extraordinary perspicuity and temper, as, in his opinion, might go far to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of address as well as of erudition, was afterwards suspected to be the author of this short treatise. It contained positions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included most of the questions then agitated in the controversy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his sentiments in a natural order, and expressing them with great simplicity; by employing often the very words of scripture, or of the primitive fathers; by softening the rigour of some opinions, and explaining away what was absurd in others; by concessions, now on one side, and now on the other; and especially by banishing as much as possible scholastick phrases, those words and terms of art in controversy, which serve as badges of distinction to the different

ferent ſects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themſelves; he framed his work in ſuch a manner, as promiſed fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted, to compoſe and to terminate religious diſſenſions [c]. Book VI. 1541.

But the attention of the age was turned, with ſuch acute obſervation, towards theological controverſies, that it was not eaſy to impoſe on it by any gloſs, how artful or ſpecious ſoever. The length and eagerneſs of the diſpute had ſeparated the contending parties ſo completely, and had ſet their minds at ſuch variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial conceſſions. All the zealous Catholics, particularly the eccleſiaſtics who had a ſeat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatiſe as too favourable to the Lutheran opinions, the poiſon of which hereſy it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger, becauſe it was in ſome degree diſguiſed. The rigid Proteſtants, eſpecially Luther himſelf, and his patron the Elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impoſe on the weak, the timid, and the unthinking. But the divines, to whom the examination of it was committed, entered upon that buſineſs with greater deliberation and temper. As it was more eaſy in itſelf, as well as more conſiſtent with the dignity of the church to make conceſſions, and even alterations with regard to ſpeculative opinions, the diſcuſſion whereof is confined chiefly to ſchools, and which preſent nothing to the people that either ſtrikes their imagination or affects their ſenſes, they came to an accommodation about theſe without much labour, Fruitleſs.

[c] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. ii. p. 182.

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labour, and even defined the great article concerning juſtification to their mutual ſatisfaction. But, when they proceeded to points of juriſdiction, where the intereſt and authority of the Roman See were concerned, or to the rites and forms of external worſhip, where every change that could be made muſt be publick, and draw the obſervation of the people, there the Catholicks were altogether untractable; nor could the church either with ſafety or with honour aboliſh its ancient inſtitutions. All the articles relative to the power of the Pope, the authority of councils, the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the worſhip of ſaints, and many other particulars did not, in their nature, admit of any temperament; ſo that after labouring long to bring about an accommodation with reſpect to theſe, the Emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual. Being impatient, however, to cloſe the diet, he at laſt prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following receſs; "That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed in the conference, ſhould be held as points decided, and be obſerved inviolably by all; that the other articles about which they had differed, ſhould be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a national ſynod of Germany; and if it ſhould prove impracticable, likewiſe, to aſſemble a ſynod, that a general diet of the Empire ſhould be called within eighteen months, in order to give ſome final judgment upon the whole controverſy; that the Emperor ſhould uſe all his intereſt and authority with the Pope, to procure the meeting either of a general council or ſynod; that, in the mean time, no innovations ſhould be attempted, no endeavours ſhould be employed to gain proſelytes; and neither the revenues of the church,

Receſs of the diet of Ratiſbon in favour of a general council.

church, nor the rights of the monaſteries, ſhould be invaded[f]."

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ALL the proceedings of this diet, as well as the receſs in which they terminated, gave great offence to the Pope. The power which the Germans had aſſumed, of appointing their own divines to examine and determine matters of controverſy, he conſidered as a very dangerous invaſion on his rights; the renewing of their ancient propoſal concerning a national ſynod, which had been ſo often rejected by him and his predeceſſors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, compoſed chiefly of laymen, to paſs judgment with reſpect to articles of faith, was deemed no leſs criminal and profane, than the worſt of thoſe hereſies which they ſeemed zealous to ſuppreſs. On the other hand, the Proteſtants were no leſs diſſatisfied with a receſs, that conſiderably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly againſt it, Charles, unwilling to leave any ſeeds of diſcontent in the Empire, granted them a private declaration, in the moſt ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppreſſive or injurious in the receſs, and aſcertaining to them the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed[g]. Gives offence both to Papiſts and Proteſtants. Charles courts the Proteſtants.

EXTRAORDINARY as theſe conceſſions may appear, the ſituation of the Emperor's affairs at this juncture made it neceſſary for him to grant them. He foreſaw a rupture with France to be not only unavoidable, but near at hand, and durſt not Affairs of Hungary.

[f] Sleidan, 267, &c. Pallav. l. iv. c. 11. p. 136. F. Paul, p. 86. Seckend. l. iii. 256.

[g] Sleid. 283. Seckend. 366. Dumont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. p. 210.

Book VI. not give any ſuch cauſe of diſguſt or fear to the Proteſtants, as might force them, in ſelf-defence, to court the protection of the French King, from whom, at preſent, they were much alienated. The rapid progreſs of the Turks in Hungary, was a more powerful and preſent cauſe of the moderation which Charles diſcovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom, John Zapol Scæpus having choſen, as has been related, rather to poſſeſs a tributary kingdom; than to renounce the royal dignity to which he had been accuſtomed, had, by the aſſiſtance of his mighty protector Solyman, wreſted from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious poſſeſſion of the reſt. But being a prince of pacifick qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partiſans among the Hungarians, to recover what they had loſt, greatly diſquieted him; and the neceſſity on theſe occaſions, of calling in the Turks, whom he conſidered and felt to be his maſters rather than auxiliaries, was hardly leſs mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid theſe diſtreſſes, as well as to ſecure quiet and leiſure for enjoying the arts and amuſements in which he delighted, he ſecretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition; That Ferdinand ſhould acknowledge him as King of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of that part of the kingdom now in his power; but that, upon his demiſe, the ſole right of the whole ſhould devolve upon Ferdinand [h]. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract ſeemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But, ſoon after, ſome of the Hungarian nobles, ſolicitous to prevent a foreigner from aſcending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to

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[h] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xii. p. 135.

to a long celibacy, by marrying Iſabella, the daughter of Sigiſmond, King of Poland. John had the ſatisfaction, before his death, which happened within leſs than a year after his marriage, to ſee a ſon born to inherit his kingdom. To him, without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, which he conſidered, no doubt, as void, upon an event not foreſeen when it was concluded, he bequeathed his crown; appointing the Queen and George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, guardians of his ſon, and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young King, to whom, in memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen [i].

1541. Death of the King of Hungary.

Ferdinand, though extremely diſconcerted by this unexpected event, reſolved not to abandon the kingdom which he had acquired by his compact with John. He ſent ambaſſadors to the Queen to claim poſſeſſion, and to offer the province of Tranſylvania as a ſettlement for her ſon, preparing at the ſame time to aſſert his right by force of arms. But John had committed the care of his ſon to perſons, who had too much ſpirit to give up the crown tamely, and who poſſeſſed abilities ſufficient to defend it. The Queen, to all the addreſs peculiar to her own ſex, added a maſculine courage, ambition, and magnanimity. Martinuzzi, who had raiſed himſelf from the loweſt rank in life to his preſent dignity, was one of thoſe extraordinary men, who, by the extent as well as variety of their talents, are fitted to act a ſuperior part in buſtling and factious times. In diſcharging the functions of his eccleſiaſtical office, he put on the ſemblance of an humble and auſtere ſanctity.

Ferdinand's efforts to obtain the crown.

Character and power of Martinuzzi.

[i] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxix. p. 239, a. &c.

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He diſcovered, in civil tranſactions, induſtry, dexterity, and boldneſs. During war he laid aſide the caſſock, and appeared on horſeback with his ſcymitar and buckler, as active, as oſtentatious, and as gallant as any of his countrymen. Amidſt all theſe different and contradictory forms which he could aſſume, an inſatiable deſire of dominion and authority was conſpicuous. From ſuch perſons it was obvious what anſwer Ferdinand had to expect. He ſoon perceived that he muſt depend on arms alone for recovering Hungary. Having levied for this purpoſe a conſiderable body of Germans, whom his partiſans among the Hungarians joined with their vaſſals, he ordered them to march into that part of the kingdom which adhered to Stephen. Martinuzzi, unable to make head againſt ſuch a powerful army in the field, ſatisfied himſelf with holding out the towns, all of which, eſpecially Buda, the place of greateſt conſequence, he provided with every thing neceſſary for defence; and in the mean time he ſent ambaſſadors to Solyman, beſeeching him to extend towards the ſon, the ſame Imperial protection which had ſo long maintained the father on his throne. The Sultan, though Ferdinand uſed his utmoſt endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even offered to accept of the Hungarian crown on the ſame ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John had held it, ſaw ſuch proſpects of advantage from eſpouſing the intereſt of the young King, that he inſtantly promiſed him his protection; and commanding one army to advance forthwith towards Hungary, he himſelf followed with another. Meanwhile the Germans, hoping to terminate the war by the reduction of a city in which the King and his mother were ſhut up, had

Calls in the Turks.

had formed the ſiege of Buda. Martinuzzi, having drawn thither the ſtrength of the Hungarian nobility, defended the town with ſuch courage and ſkill, as allowed the Turkiſh forces time to come up to its relief. They inſtantly attacked the Germans, weakened by fatigue, diſeaſes, and deſertion, and defeated them with great ſlaughter [k]. 1541.

Solyman's ungenerous conduct.

Solyman ſoon after joined his victorious troops, and being weary of ſo many expenſive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, or being unable to reſiſt this alluring opportunity of ſeizing a kingdom, while poſſeſſed by an infant, under the guardianſhip of a woman and a prieſt, he allowed intereſted conſiderations to triumph with too much facility over the principles of honour and the ſentiments of humanity. What he planned ungenerouſly, he executed by fraud. Having prevailed on the Queen to ſend her ſon, whom he pretended to be deſirous of ſeeing, into his camp, and having at the ſame time invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there, while they, ſuſpecting no treachery, gave themſelves up to the mirth and jollity of the feaſt, a ſelect band of troops by the Sultan's orders ſeized one of the gates of Buda. Being thus maſter of the capital, of the King's perſon, and of the leading men among the nobles, he ordered the Queen, together with her ſon, to be conducted to Tranſylvania, which province he allotted to them, and, appointing a Baſha to reſide in Buda with a large body of ſoldiers, annexed Hungary to the Ottoman Empire. The tears and complaints of the unhappy Queen had no influence to change his purpoſe, nor could Martinuzzi

[k] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 150.

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either reſiſt his abſolute and uncontroulable command, or prevail on him to recal it [l].

Ferdinand's overtures to Solyman.

Before the account of this violent uſurpation reached Ferdinand, he was ſo unlucky as to have diſpatched new ambaſſadors to Solyman with a freſh repreſentation of his right to the crown of Hungary, as well as a renewal of his former overture to hold the kingdom of the Ottoman Porte, and to pay for it an annual tribute. This ill-timed propoſal was rejected with ſcorn. The Sultan elated with ſucceſs, and thinking that he might preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to a Prince who voluntarily proffered conditions ſo unbecoming his own dignity, declared that he would not ſuſpend the operations of war, unleſs Ferdinand inſtantly evacuated all the towns which he ſtill held in Hungary, and conſented to the impoſition of a tribute upon Auſtria, in order to reimburſe the ſums which his preſumptuous invaſion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom [m].

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Hungary. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the diſſolution of the diet at Ratiſbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles ſaw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans, while ſuch a formidable enemy was ready to break into the Empire; and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous aſſiſtance, either towards the recovery of Hungary, or the defence of the Auſtrian frontier, unleſs he courted and ſatisfied the Proteſtants. By the conceſſions which have been mentioned, he gained

[l] Iſtuanhaffii, lib. xiv. p. 56. Jovii hiſtor. lib. xxxix. p. 2476, &c.

[m] Iſtuanhaffii hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 158.

gained this point, and ſuch liberal ſupplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war againſt the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the ſecurity of Germany during next campaign [n].

IMMEDIATELY upon the concluſion of the diet, the Emperor ſet out for Italy. As he paſſed through Lucca he had a ſhort interview with the Pope; but nothing could be concluded, concerning the proper method of compoſing the religious diſputes in Germany, between two Princes, whoſe views and intereſt with regard to that matter were at this juncture ſo oppoſite. The Pope's endeavours to remove the cauſes of diſcord between Charles and Francis, and to extinguiſh thoſe mutual animoſities which threatened to break out ſuddenly into open hoſtility, were not more ſucceſsful. Emperor viſits Italy.

THE Emperor's thoughts were bent ſo entirely, at that time, on the great enterprize which he had concerted againſt Algiers, that he liſtened with little attention to the Pope's ſchemes or overtures, and haſtened to join his army and fleet [o]. His expedition againſt Algiers, and motives of it.

ALGIERS ſtill continued in that ſtate of dependence on the Turkiſh empire to which Barbaroſſa had ſubjected it. Ever ſince he, as captain Baſha, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Haſcen-Aga, a renegado eunuch, who, by paſſing through every ſtation in the Corſair's ſervice, had acquired ſuch experience in war, that he was well fitted for a ſtation which required a man of tried and daring courage. Haſcen, in order to ſhew how well he deſerved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations againſt the Chriſtian States with amazing

[n] Sleid. 283. [o] Sandov. hiſtor. tom. ii. 289.

Book VI. amazing activity, and out did, if poſſible, Barbaroſſa himſelf in boldneſs and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruiſers, and ſuch frequent alarms given to the coaſts of Spain, that there was a neceſſity of erecting watch-towers at proper diſtances, and of keeping guards conſtantly on foot, in order to deſcry the approach of his ſquadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their deſcents [p]. Of this the Emperor's ſubjects had long complained, repreſenting it as an enterpriſe correſponding to his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, ſince the conqueſt of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the free-booters; and to exterminate that lawleſs race, the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian name. Moved partly by their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his laſt expedition into Africa, Charles, before he left Madrid, in his way to the Low-Countries, had iſſued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for this purpoſe. No change in circumſtances, ſince that time, could divert him from this reſolution, or prevail on him to turn his arms towards Hungary; though the ſucceſs of the Turks in that country ſeemed more immediately to require his preſence there; though many of his moſt faithful adherents in Germany urged that the defence of the Empire ought to be his firſt and peculiar care; though ſuch as bore him no good-will ridiculed his prepoſterous conduct in flying from an enemy almoſt at hand, that he might go in queſt of a remote and more ignoble foe. But to attack the Sultan in Hungary, how ſplendid ſoever that meaſure might appear, was an undertaking which exceeded his power, and was not conſiſtent with his

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[p] Jovii hiſt. l. xl. p. 266.

his intereſt. To draw troops out of Spain or Italy, to march them into a country ſo diſtant as Hungary, to provide the vaſt apparatus neceſſary for tranſporting thither the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of a regular army, and to puſh the war in that quarter, where it could not be brought to any iſſue during ſeveral campaigns, were undertakings ſo expenſive and unwieldy as did not correſpond with the low condition of the Emperor's treaſury. While his principal force was thus employed, his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries muſt have lain open to the French King, who would not have allowed ſuch a favourable opportunity of attacking them to go unimproved. Whereas the African expedition, the preparations for which were already finiſhed, and almoſt the whole expence of it defrayed, would depend upon a ſingle effort, and beſides the ſecurity and ſatisfaction which the ſucceſs of it muſt give his ſubjects, would detain him ſo ſhort a ſpace, that Francis could hardly take advantage of his abſence, to invade his dominions in Europe.

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On all theſe accounts, Charles adhered to his firſt plan, and with ſuch determined obſtinacy, that he paid no regard to the Pope, who adviſed, or to Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expoſe his whole armament to almoſt unavoidable deſtruction, by venturing at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, and while the autumnal winds were ſo violent, to approach the dangerous coaſt of Algiers. Having embarked on board Doria's gallies at Porto-Venere, in the Genoeſe territories, he ſoon found that this experienced ſailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was ſo well acquainted;

His preparations.

Book VI. quainted; for ſuch a ſtorm aroſe that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. But as his courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, neither the remonſtrances of the Pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been expoſed by diſregarding them, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal reſolution. The force, indeed, which he had collected was ſuch as might have inſpired a Prince leſs adventurous, and leſs confident in his own ſchemes, with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, moſtly veterans, together with three thouſand volunteers, the flower of the Spaniſh and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the Emperor by attending him in this favourite expedition, and eager to ſhare in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to theſe were added a thouſand ſoldiers ſent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its moſt gallant Knights.

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Lands in Africa.

THE voyage, from Majorca to the African coaſt, was not leſs tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had juſt finiſhed. When he approached the land, the roll of the ſea, and vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to diſembark. But at laſt, the Emperor, ſeizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without oppoſition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppoſe this mighty army, Haſcen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thouſand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty anſwer when ſummoned to ſurrender.

der. But, with ſuch a handful of ſoldiers, neither his deſperate courage, nor conſummate ſkill in war, could have long reſiſted forces ſuperior to thoſe which had defeated Barbaroſſa at the head of ſixty thouſand men, and which had reduced Tunis, in ſpite of all his endeavours to ſave it. 1541.

The diſaſters which befel his army,

But how far ſoever the Emperor might think himſelf beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was ſuddenly expoſed to a more dreadful calamity, and one againſt which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the ſecond day after his landing, and before he had time for any thing but to diſperſe ſome light armed Arabs, who moleſted his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aſpect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempeſt increaſing during the night, the ſoldiers, who had brought nothing aſhore but their arms, remained expoſed to all its fury, without tents, or ſhelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was ſoon ſo wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low ſituation was overflowed with water, and they ſunk at every ſtep to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with ſuch impetuoſity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thruſt their ſpears into the ground, and to ſupport themſelves by taking hold of them. Haſcen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in ſuch diſtreſs to remain unmoleſted. About the dawn of morning, he ſallied out with ſoldiers, who, having been ſcreened from the ſtorm under their own roofs, were freſh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were ſtationed neareſt the city, diſpirited and benumbed

Book VI. 1541. numbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the poſt behind them, diſcovered greater courage; but as the rain had extinguiſhed their matches and wet their powder, their muſkets were uſeleſs, and having ſcarcely ſtrength to handle their other arms, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion. Almoſt the whole army, with the Emperor himſelf in perſon, was obliged to advance, before the enemy could be repulſed, who, after ſpreading ſuch general conſternation, and killing a conſiderable number of men, retired at laſt in good order.

and fleet. But all feeling or remembrance of this loſs and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting ſpectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the ſea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that deſtructive element is capable; all the ſhips, on which alone the whole army knew that their ſafety and ſubſiſtence depended, were ſeen driven from their anchors, ſome daſhing againſt each other, ſome beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced aſhore, and not a few ſinking in the waves. In leſs than an hour, fifteen ſhips of war, and an hundred and forty tranſports with eight thouſand men periſhed; and ſuch of the unhappy crews as eſcaped the fury of the ſea, were murdered without mercy, by the Arabs, as ſoon as they reached land. The Emperor ſtood in ſilent anguiſh and aſtoniſhment beholding this fatal event, which at once blaſted all his hopes of ſucceſs, and buried in the depths the vaſt ſtores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for ſubſiſting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other aſſiſtance or relief, than by ſending ſome troops to drive away the

the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were ſo fortunate as to get aſhore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At laſt the wind began to fall, and to give ſome hopes that as many ſhips might eſcape, as to ſave the army from periſhing by famine, and tranſport them back to Europe. But theſe were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the ſea with darkneſs; and it being impoſſible for the officers aboard the ſhips which had outlived the ſtorm, to ſend any intelligence to their companions who were aſhore, they remained during the night in all the anguiſh of ſuſpence and uncertainty. Next day, a boat diſpatched by Doria made ſhift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the ſtorm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the ſea, he had never ſeen any equal in fierceneſs and horror, he had found it neceſſary to bear away with his ſhattered ſhips to Cape Metafuz. He adviſed the Emperor, as the face of the ſky was ſtill lowering and tempeſtuous, to march with all ſpeed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater eaſe. Book VI. 1541.

Obliged to retreat.

WHATEVER comfort this intelligence afforded Charles, from being aſſured that part of his fleet had eſcaped, was balanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was at leaſt three days march from his preſent camp; all the proviſions which he had brought aſhore at his firſt landing were now conſumed; his ſoldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able for ſuch a journey, even in a friendly country; and being diſpirited by a ſucceſſion of hardſhips, which victory itſelf would ſcarce have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new

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new toils. But the ſituation of the army was ſuch, as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the leaſt doubtful what to chooſe. They were ordered inſtantly to march, the wounded, the ſick and the feeble being placed in the center; ſuch as ſeemed moſt vigorous were ſtationed in the front and rear. Then the ſad effects of what they had ſuffered began to appear more manifeſtly than ever, and new calamities were added to all thoſe which they had already endured. Some could ſcarcely bear the weight of their arms; others, ſpent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almoſt impaſſible roads, ſunk down and died; many periſhed by famine, as the whole army ſubſiſted chiefly on roots and berries, or the fleſh of horſes, killed by the Emperor's order, and diſtributed among the ſeveral battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were ſwoln ſo much by the extenſive rains, that in paſſing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greateſt part of their retreat, alarmed, haraſſed, and annoyed them night and day. At laſt they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now ſo calm as to reſtore their communication with the fleet, they were ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, and cheered with the proſpect of ſafety.

His fortitude of mind.

During this dreadful ſeries of calamities, the Emperor diſcovered great qualities, many of which an almoſt uninterrupted flow of proſperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of diſplaying. He appeared conſpicuous for firmneſs and conſtancy of ſpirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compaſſion. He endured as great hardſhips as the meaneſt ſoldier; he expoſed his own perſon wherever danger threatened;

threatened; he encouraged the deſponding; viſited the ſick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the laſt who left the ſhore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great diſtance, ready to fall on the rear. By theſe virtues, Charles atoned, in ſome degree, for his obſtinacy and preſumption in undertaking an expedition ſo fatal to his ſubjects. Book VI. 1541.

THE calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprize did not end here; for no ſooner were the forces got on board, than a new ſtorm ariſing, though leſs furious than the former, ſcattered the fleet, and obliged them, ſeparately, to make towards ſuch ports in Spain or Italy as they could firſt reach; thus ſpreading the account of their diſaſters, with all the circumſtances of aggravation and horror, which their fear or fancy ſuggeſted. The Emperor himſelf, after eſcaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain ſeveral weeks, arrived at laſt in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition againſt the Infidels [z]. Returns to Europe. Decem. 2.

[z] Carol. V. Expeditio ad Argyriam per Nicolaum Villagnonem Equitem Rhodium ap Scardium, v. ii. 365. Jovii Hiſt. l. xl. p. 269, &c. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos V. p. 83. Sandov. Hiſtor. ii. 299, &c.

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